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STUDENTS UNDER COMMUNISM

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At a certain moment the human intellect comes of age; and when it does, it can no longer be kept in bondage, not in the chains of censorship nor in the leading-strings of prudence.

--Alexander Ivanovich Herzen, 1812-1870

STUDENTS UNDER COMMUNISM--whatever their nationality--are disgruntled, restless, depressed, disaffected, frustrated, discouraged, indifferent and rebellious. They are united only in their discontent and, sometimes, in their explosive actions to break the chains of bondage.

Their parades, rallies, strikes, demonstrations, resistance, riots, boycotts, petitions, demands, manifestoes, skirmishes, etc., are testimony of their unrest. Such protests stem from youth who have been subjected to long-time Communist indoctrination as well as from those more recently subjected to Communist control; they take place in Soviet Russia as well as in the so-called satellites.

Nowhere has this unity of disaffection been so dramatically revealed as in the student-stimulated Hungarian Revolution. Reverberations from that student battle with Soviet troops were felt throughout the Communist world. Students in other Communist countries gave vent to their feelings; and, as in Hungary, Communist leaders applied controls and force to quell the spirit of rebellion.

STUDENTS UNDER COMMUNISM are subjected to rules and controls which are strikingly similar throughout the Communism world. There are required political studies, forced indoctrination, controlled curriculums, regimented vacations, enforced transfers, class quotas, directed employment, forced labor, censorship, suspension, expulsion, deportation, arrest, imprisonment, and even execution.

The following pages document the widespread unrest and oppression of STUDENTS UNDER COMMUNISM.

NOTE: The following pages contain selected materials from press and magazine sources. Underscoring has been supplied to give additional emphasis and to highlight significant sections of each article in order to facilitate the reader's review of pertinent facts.

BULGARIA

The Bulgarian press has recently criticized failures in the Communist education of Bulgarian youth. Rabotnichesko Delo, the official party organ, complained that Bulgarian youth woodenly perform the tasks assigned to them by the Dimitrov Youth Union and are devoid of true Marxist-Leninist enthusiasm.

Decisions such as the assignment of youth brigades to help with the harvest resembled economic decrees rather than spontaneous agreements among the youth to help the peasants in their work.

"There are serious shortcomings in the ideolocial-political work among the youth. The number of youth included in the different forms of political-propagandist education is small." The paper stated that the number of Communist Party members employed in ideological education of youth-union groups has decreased in the past year by 50 per cent. In the same period the percentage of union secretaries to carry party cards has fallen 6 per cent.

These statistics bear out reports which have reached the West that the majority of youth in Bulgaria today, while compelled to join the organizations sponsored by the regime, in reality have little interest in such activity. . . . (Christian Science Monitor, March 24, 1958, "Bulgarian Press Hits Education Failure").

Background Material:

New York Times, Nov. 26, 1956, "Big-Scale Arrests by Sofia Reported"

Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Nov. 25 (AP) -- Advices from Sofia said tonight Bulgarian authorities were pressing a campaign of large-scale arrests aimed at scaring the population out of any attempt to revolt. . . .

Recent unrest in the Mechanical High School in Sofia was reported crushed by the police. Three truckloads of arrested youths were taken to an unknown destination.

New York Times, Dec. 7, 1956, "Bulgaria Reported Exiling Dissidents"

Vienna, Dec. 6 (Reuters) -- Many persons have been expelled from Sofia and sent into exile in the northeastern parts of Bulgaria, according to travelers reaching Vienna from Sofia today.

The travelers said the Bulgarian militia served deportation orders in the dead of night. These gave families between twelve hours and three days' notice, according to circumstances, to get their things together and leave the capital. . .

About 200 students of Sofia University and various technical schools in the capital have been arrested within the last few weeks, the travelers said.

Hongkong Standard, Jan. 5, 1957, "Bulgarian Students Being Purged; Growing Unrest Among Population"

Vienna, Jan. 4 (Reuter) -- Mass purge of Bulgarian students is taking place in Sofia according to an issue of the Polish youth newspaper Sztandar Mlodych which reached Vienna today.

The newspaper's Sofia correspondent also said that unrest among Bulgaria's population was growing steadily.

Communist Party officials had recently received letters threatening them with death.

More than 70 students had been expelled not only from their universities but also from the Bulgarian youth organization for their "anti-proletarian attitude" and "hostile remarks against the Communist system," official reports said.

Fifteen Bulgarian students had been expelled from the veterinary faculty because they had made "hostile remarks about the Hungarian events in private conversations."

The correspondent said the Bulgarian authorities were working out a list of at least 250 "unreliable" students who would be purged shortly.

Hongkong Standard, Jan. 19, 1957, "More Students Dismissed in Red Bulgaria"

Vienna, Jan. 18 (Reuter) -- Another wave of expulsions of students from Bulgarian Universities was disclosed in reports reaching here from Sofia today.

Many students were reported to have been expelled from Plovdiv University. Most of them were members of former middle class families or the children of farmers who had offered resistance to collectivization.

In Sofia the fifth class of the Faculty of Economic Studies was suspended from the university after they held a protest meeting against the expulsion of a member.

New York Times, Feb. 6, 1957, "Sofia Students Expelled"

Vienna, Feb. 5 (Reuters) -- More than 1,500 Sofia University students have been expelled under the Bulgarian Government's purge of students who showed sympathy with the Hungarian revolutionaries, according to reports reaching here today. The reports said 200 university and high school students have been arrested in the last two months and sent to concentration camps.

Christian Science Monitor, June 4, 1958, "Bulgar Students Snub Marx," by Eric Bourne

Belgrade -- Some Bulgarian third-year students in Russian philology, confronted with six questions on the activities of the ruling bodies of Soviet and Bulgarian communism, handed in blank sheets of paper.

Another wrote: "I have enough trouble with my examinations and studies. Everyone has his own interests. Mine are studying. Politics? There is no point in my knowing about then." . . .

Concern with such political apathy and ignorance among young people is evident in all the Communist Eastern European countries where prewar revolutionary leaders now in power are aging and a new generation is developing which is either disinterested in politics or attracted by Western tolerance and chafing at the restraints and intellectual blinkers of the single-party Marxist state.

Addressing a recent congress of party youth leaders. Dimitar Ganev, a member of the Bulgarian Politburo, demanded an intensification of Communist propaganda among young people.

He spoke of "alarming" shortcomings in the effectiveness of the party's work among youth, including an apolitical attitude which, he said, created the most favorable condition for the spread of bourgeois ideology.

"This apolitical attitude," Mr. Ganev added, "is most clearly expressed in high schools, where the work of our youth organization, which covers almost all high school students, is most unsatisfactory.

"There are alarming things among the university students. The traditions of the revolutionary students of the past are no longer explained and sometimes indifference is shown toward openly hostile acts by reactionary students." . . .

Party leaders have suggested a vast expansion of political education and study of all subjects which "contribute to the formation of a correct outlook" on the advantages of the "people's regime" and communism.

But there is little evidence so far that the party leaders' new campaigns to halt this refusal to be satisfied with or devoted to an educational system chained to the maintenance of a single set of ideas and the permanent authority of the political group is meeting with much success.

In Bulgaria, weakest of the Soviet bloc except Albania, the Soviet way of quelling revolt in Hungary had its effect. But it did not totally extinguish the mood of resentment and rebellion among writers and students.

And both groups are again today -- as party publications and spokesmen show -- asserting their unwillingness to accept without a challenge the party's new efforts to hold them strictly in conformity with "socialist realism" in arts and the Marxist dialectic in education.

CHINA

COMMUNIST CHINA

A Communist counterattack is under way against China's restless students.

Not only have several million students been induced to leave the classroom for the farm, but hundreds of Communist organizers are being slipped into top posts of institutions of higher learning to assure party leadership over the educational front.

In an apparent effort to turn criticism into harmless channels, students and teachers are being encouraged to debate such burning topics as the supply of reference materials and thrifty school management. Meantime, political studies in the schools are being stepped up. A timely course on "the correct handling of contradictions within the ranks of the people" is being introduced to new student audiences.

These are among the devices announced by Chinese Communist sources to deal with a student body that rioted vigorously against the government last June in central China. Other news of student strikes in Wuhan, Harbin and elsewhere caused Dr. Hu Shih, famed Chinese philosopher, to assert that China last June narrowly missed a student-led popular uprising of the Hungarian type.

Recent months, however, have brought a lull in reports of student unrest except for that generated by the giant transfer of students and other groups into badly needed agricultural work. Communist youth groups are trying to combat even this discontent by more indoctrination. Youth is told to think about "productive labor and group spirit. . . and to overcome the idea of overlooking toiling labor and belittling workers and peasants. . . ."

If the rebellious spirit of Chinese students shown last June can be permanently broken, then the Communists will have achieved something new in recent Chinese history.

For more than three decades Chinese students have been an important, independent --minded force in their country's affairs. Political movements have found them ardent but not wholly reliable allies. Students traditionally have been more loyal to policies than to politics, and many governments before the Communists have been embarrassed by student activities.

In recent decades, except when war or the Kuomintang Party of Chiang Kai-shik immobilized them, Chinese students used their collective strength to press reforms on their government. Usually their aims were nationalistic or anti-imperialistic:

They led a protest movement that resulted in China's refusal to sign the Versailles treaty.

They led mass action resulting in the resignations of Chinese government "traitors" accused of selling out China's Shantung province to Japan; they also organized and directed a three-year boycott of Japanese goods.

They headed a popular movement in the 1920s against what they considered unfair treaties imposed on China by imperialist powers.

By tens of thousands they pilgrimaged to Nanking headquarters in 1931 to beg Generalissimo Chiang to drive advancing Japanese troops out of Manchuria.

With these campaigns and many others Chinese students established themselves as leaders of the people.

When the Chinese Reds came to power, they did so with the support of students, part of China's intellectual class. In return youth won a high place in the new government. Young Chinese got choice government jobs. They became sleuths in the hunt for ideological heretics. Youth had an active role in the accusation meetings that stigmatized countless adults in the terror-ridden years of 1951-52. The young became aggressive, unnerving overseers of their parents' and their teachers' political consciences.

The Communist regime's early attention to youth seemed to pay off. At least as late as 1952 missionaries emerging from Red China testified to youth's apparent unflinching loyalty to a party that provided it with prestige and opportunity unlimited.

Once the indoctrinated younger generation was fully in control, many experts predicted, the traditional individualism of the Chinese people would be lost beyond recovery. Yet in last June's riots, the 800 reported rioters were middle-school youngsters indoctrinated in little but Communist ways.

Many other signs point to mounting disillusionment of students with the government.

For years a trickle of youthful discontent has appeared in the Communist press. After the government started allocating jobs to university graduates, complaints

began appearing in 1952 and 1953. These were directed against the type of job awarded or the distance of assignments from their families.

The complaints still were coming through in 1956 but seemed to have produced no real reforms. Students trained as electrical engineers, it was charged at a youth group meeting, were assigned to machine--building jobs. Those studying machine--building were made storekeepers.

The government has kept up a running battle, too, against young people who want to use their heads but not their hands. As early as 1953 the Chinese press claimed that youth should be directed toward "glorious work" in the fields and factories. This followed a government notice that lower level education would not be further expanded.

A month before the recent riots the Communist Party Central Committee, in a message to a Peking youth conference, urged young people to "combat remaining tendencies to regard manual labor as contemptible." Manual labor instead should be regarded as a "glorious obligation."

This type of pep talk has continued with the need for new farm workers to step up agricultural production and to replenish the supply of rural workers who migrated to the cities.

Student ideological troubles have been conceded, too, in Chinese press reports. Some students still have unhealthy thoughts, it was reported last January after a Peking conference on higher education. A minority of students was said to overemphasize democracy and personal freedom. Some even wanted "the collective body to yield to the individual." The suggested Communist treatment in this and similar cases was more indoctrination in collectivism, more political education. . . .

The Communist Party is meeting the challenge typically: By assigning high-level party and government Communists to top posts in schools, in scientific research institutes, and on newspapers. In the schools these Communists will serve as presidents, vice presidents, deans and in other high administrative places.

A period of severe regimentation appears to be the price Chinese students will pay for their short-lived revolt.

Background Material:

Manchester Guardian, Feb. 14, 1957, "Student Unrest Now in China," by Victor

Zorza

The student unrest which has been so noticeable recently in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe seems to be spreading as far afield as China. The Peking People's Daily yesterday complained that some students had no "clear understanding of the meaning of democratic freedom," while others failed to distinguish between "us and the enemy." . . .

The Chinese authorities have long had considerable difficulty in "re-educating" the old intelligentsia and its children, but the present difficulty is of a new kind. The reference to the students' misinterpretation of the meaning of democratic freedom suggests that the recent attempts at "democratisation" in China have led the students to demand more freedom than the scope of democratisation was intended to provide. . . . as happened in the other Communist Countries.

Last month, for instance, a Peking radio report referred to the desire among the students "to put individual interests above collective interests" -- which is an old complaint--but added that other "unhealthy thoughts" included "over-emphasis on democracy and individual freedom." The party conference of Peking institutions of higher learning at which these unhealthy thoughts were noted attributed them to failure to strengthen ideological education. . . .

South China Morning Post, Feb. 14, 1957, "'Brain-washing' of University Students in China"

Peking, Feb. 13 (Reuter) - The People's Daily said today that 80 per cent of Chinese university students were from non-proletarian families and their way of thought must be criticised and put right "as we would cure a patient."

The newspaper reporting a recent meeting of the Youth League, said. . . .

Because of the lack of understanding of the class point of view, some students "fail to have a clear understanding of the meaning of democratic freedom and a small minority have not made a clear distinction between us and the enemy."

South China Morning Post, Feb. 21, 1957, "Peking Curbs Chauvinism of Students"

Peking, Feb. 20 (AFP)-- All educational institutions have received instructions to increase their courses in political theory as a result of the Hungarian events.

High schools, colleges and universities are to devote an entire week to lessons in political theory.

This measure was taken in the light of "misunderstandings" among students which arose during discussions of the Hungarian revolt and other political developments in Eastern Europe.

While these "misunderstandings" could not be labelled "deviationist" or "reactionary," they provided proof that the political level of students had been neglected the past two years, observers said. . . .

Hongkong Standard, March 3, 1957, "Red China Gives Hint of Unrest in Colleges"

Tokyo, March 2 (UP) - Communist China today gave a strong hint of unrest among the college and university students it hopes some day will be the Red rulers.

In a newspaper editorial reported today by Peking Radio "a small number" of college students were criticized for "divorcing their study from the world around them."

The criticism comes as reports leaking out of the Chinese mainland suggest that students there, as in almost all Communist nations including Russia itself are not completely satisfied with the Communist ways of doing things.

The criticism against the Chinese students appeared in the Kwangming Daily which said that "most students are interested in world events and political science but a small number are divorcing their study from the world around them."

"The paper reminds college students that they will soon take part in building socialism and should interest themselves in political affairs," the radio said.

The small portion of the editorial reported by the radio gave no further clues as to what brought on the criticism.

However, Western sources in the Far East have reported that Communist China has launched a new "reeducation campaign" to combat repeated student questioning of the Peking version of recent developments in Eastern Europe where satellite uprisings against Soviet rulers have taken place. . . .

Far Eastern Economic Review, March 7, 1957, "Despondency Among Communist Youth"

It is significant that China as well as the other Communist countries have been compelled in recent weeks to take special pains to persuade even their own following, and especially the younger generation, that Communism is still the wave of the future. It is an admission that scepticism about this is now growing and general, that the old enthusiasm which has endured for half-a-dozen years or more is going as the youths of 1949 grow into maturity and their successors find life harder and harder. It has been said that the ferment in the Soviet Union has hardly begun to work. What is clear is that the overweening self-confidence of the early days has gone. The completion of socialisation transforms the regime into an administrative apparatus whose frequent inefficiency is as desolating as the loss of the original afflatus to the "souls of the masses."

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Peking Radio admitted on January 22 that after more than six years of thorough-going indoctrination, students in Communist China still nurture "unhealthy thoughts" (which some observers translate as anti-Communist feelings) even in the capital, where indoctrination has been pushed the hardest. The broadcast criticised the students' "over-emphasis on democracy and individual freedom, and even the desire to put individual interest above national interest." It is significant that the admission came after the closing of a four-day conference of Communist Party committees from the higher educational institutions in Peking. A month before the official organ of the Youth League admitted that a feeling of frustration had recently been engendered among some of the young cadres in the rural areas. "When some young cadres, League members and young people, see the poor harvests and living difficulties of the masses, and when they see the improper job of recording and distribution of income in certain agricultural producer co-operatives, they begin to doubt the prospects of APCs. Some young people devote themselves to side occupations, losing interest in agricultural production. Others try to find their own outlets." . . .

China News Analysis, April 19, 1957, "Unfriendly Youth"

The cry of the young for freedom was universal last term. In Harbin, Manchuria, for example, the students wanted democracy and freedom and were unwilling to hear anything more about collective life or central guidance. They refused to take part in criticisms and self-criticisms, astutely quoting the famous principles of Chou En-lai, "peaceful coexistence, mutual non-interference." The situation became so serious that the kanpu in charge of organizations yielded, not daring to hold out against this demand for freedom.

The reaction came. The universities in Harbin. . . applied the method of indoctrinations and meetings in all its rigour; with discussions on "Democracy and Centralism," and "Freedom and Discipline." . . .

The whole life of the students was changed. Their days were filled with hard work - shovelling snow, etc., and daily gymnastics and other forms of collective life. Thus, kept busy from morning to night with study, gymnastics, meetings, and work, the students had no time left for dreams of Democracy and Freedom.

Harbin was not the only centre of disaffection. Numerous reports make it clear that the alienation of students from Party life was universal. Usually it is called "indifference towards politics". Last February an editorial in the Teachers' Daily said "In Peking and many other places, some of the students, being devoid of

international spirit, have no grasp of the meaning of internal and external events, are unwilling to take part in political activities, disregard discipline, and neglect collective life." . . .

New York Times, April 21, 1957, "Student Unrest Worries Peiping As Dissatisfaction Reports Rise," by Greg MacGragor

Hongkong, April 20 - An increasing number of reports of civilian unrest trickled out of Communist China this week. They dealt for the most part with student dissatisfaction, which has been building up since last fall.

It was confirmed from several reliable sources here that the Peiping Government was gravely concerned over the problem of student unrest.

Late last year students attending two institutions of higher learning sought to make their feelings known to the Government's leaders through mass demonstrations similar to those held in Poland and Hungary, but were dissuaded by Government agents, it was reported.

The two schools were named as the Chengting Technical School of Geology, situated about 150 miles south of Peiping, and Tsinghua University, a neighboring institution.

According to reports, there is still tension on the campuses of the two schools and it has spread to others.

The reports indicated that the dissatisfaction was linked to the failure of graduates to get jobs that were consistent with their educational backgrounds, and to independent thinking fostered by exchange student contacts. Also said to be a cause was the students' independent analysis of international news reports gathered surreptitiously from various outside publications and shortwave radio broadcasts.

The difficulties with student circles are believed to have come as a shock to the Communist administration, whose long-range planning is built almost entirely upon technical and professional training of China's youth combined with thorough indoctrination in Communist ideology.

Grave concern along similar lines was shown by the Communist leaders earlier this year when they acknowledged that an alarming number of students in institutions of higher learning were deviating from accepted lines of thought.

At that time, a report of a "conference on student work in higher institutions of Peiping" said that "the Communist leadership has a correct appreciation of

Communist ideology), while others failed to distinguish friend from enemy."

The report made it plain that the terms "friend" and "enemy" were used in allusion to sympathies in the students' ranks for the people of Hungary against the Soviet armed forces that crushed the uprising there last fall. The report added that students had become confused in distinguishing between "Socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy," the western type and the type practiced in Communist countries.

The reports of the narrowly averted demonstrations said that classes had been suspended at both institutions involved for a week and that all students had been compelled to attend new concentrated courses of political indoctrination. The reports also indicated that Peiping intended to quell any demonstrations at all costs before they reached the stage of possible bloodshed.

Despite this, it was reported that posters regarded by the Communists as both "dangerous and impertinent" had appeared on the walls of the schools at regular intervals.

As knowledge of the student unrest spread in areas near the two institutions, the Government said recently in partial explanation that about 82 per cent of the students in China's colleges were from upper class families and consequently were still contaminated with "bourgeois" and "imperialist" ideas.

Although independent thought has been emphasized over and over as one of the freedoms enjoyed under advanced Socialist leadership, it was reliably reported that more severe restrictions on institutions of higher learning were imminent.

To control what it considers dangerous thinking by the students, Peiping will soon assign Communist party representatives to individual schools to supervise instruction in current events and policies, political theory and "ideological realities." This plan was announced by the Peiping educational conference in February.

Christian Science Monitor, April 29, 1957, "Peking Turns Youth From School To Mine," by Frank Robertson

Hongkong -- Mainland China's Communist regime is in difficulties in the vital field of education, and is paying the penalty now of trying to run before it had learned to walk.

As a result, universities and technical colleges are cutting enrollments, and

the children of mainland China once again are being forced to work in the fields, mines, and factories.

It has been found that thousands of college graduates--almost all of whom are forced to take technical or science courses--are either insufficiently or improperly trained for their tasks in the industrialization program.

And, after proudly promising education for all, Peking has been forced to announce that there are not nearly enough schools or teachers, neither will there be for a long time to come. Children throughout mainland China, therefore, are being sent to work after leaving primary school.

Both dilemmas have been debated at length by worried educators at recent conferences in Peking. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, June 11, 1957, "Red China's Youth Exhorted by Peking," by Takashi Oka

Peking's Communist leadership has exhorted mainland China's youth to intensify their ideological training, to appreciate manual labor, and to work to solve "contradictions within the ranks of the people."

The exhortations were voiced at a 10-day meeting of the New Democratic Youth League (now renamed the Chinese Young Communist League). . . .

Communist newspapers have carried, during the past month, reports of strikes and other evidences of student unrest in Tientsin, Yunnan, and other areas. A May 29 Reuters report said that posters carrying extracts of the Nikita S. Khrushchev speech denouncing Stalin last February appeared in Peking University student halls, and that other posters asked why the speech had never been released in Communist China. . . .

Hongkong Standard, June 21, 1957, "Bomb Exploded in College, Peking Reports"

Peking, June 20 (Reuter) -- A bomb exploded in a downstairs room at the home of the Vice-President of the Peking Medical College on Sunday night, the official Peking People's Daily reported here today.

The Vice-President Chu Chen, is a member of the college's Communist Party Committee. The People's Daily said a student told a mass meeting at the college the next day he had heard someone say a month earlier that he planned to "kill the Communists." . . .

Hongkong Standard, June 29, 1957, "Youths Unburden Their Hearts of Grievances"

Peking, June 28 (Reuter) -- Undergraduates at Peking University, welcoming the present criticism and rectification campaign, are delighted by unburdening their hearts of all the grievances which they have been storing up for years.

Many of the buildings in the university grounds are now plastered with brightly coloured posters and cartoons embodying complaints and suggestions, counter-criticisms and replies.

Many of the criticisms are very outspoken and members of the University are far more willing now than previously to talk to foreigners and even to reveal their dislikes. . . .

Some students were not content with posters and took to whitewash and brush. One street was named "Truth" another "Freedom" while down the middle of a third in bold, white characters was painted the remark "Besides individual liberty, what is more precious?"

But overlooking the dining halls, high on the wall of one of the dormitories, is the biggest slogan of all, which must have been put there with official blessings: "All arguments and actions which ignore socialism are wrong."

Few, however, seem to have heeded this warning. Criticism, particularly those attacking the dominant role of the Communist Party in the university, has been very outspoken. But the party's role and its system of committees throughout the structure of the university has been hotly defended by the dean, Ma Yin-chu, who himself has not escaped individual criticism. . . .

Hongkong Standard, July 4, 1957, "Red China Clamps Vise on Students"

Ideological and political indoctrination in Red China's middle and normal schools is to become compulsory, according to a report received here from Peking.

Red China's Ministry of Education has ordered "political knowledge classes" to be set up in the schools "to foster the accurate world outlook and philosophy of life among students." . . .

St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 12, 1957, "Communist Party Workers Undergo New 'Brainwashing,'" by William Kinmond, Toronto Globe and Mail reporter

Peiping -- In their current anti-contradiction campaign, the Communists of China are not overlooking their own members and particular attention is being paid to the cadres, the mainstay of this country's political system.

"This is sometimes described as brainwashing," said Chou Yang, vice director of the central propaganda department of the Chinese Communist party. "That is what it is. We need to wash our faces every day, why shouldn't our brains be washed? Brains must be washed to adjust to changes in the world."

So the brains of the Communist party are being washed through the simple expedient of putting the cadres out to do some hard toil. This the Communists described as the process of rectification. . . .

There was no admission by Chou that there have already been riots or disturbances. . . .

Chou did, however, refer to the possibility of demonstrations on the part of students with the suggestion that they had refused to attend classes. As he put it, "They are resorting to petitions or striking." . . .

Hongkong Standard, July 13, 1957, "Students in Red China Oppose the Communists," condensed from The Democratic Review

. . . The Peking regime never anticipated that the students of different colleges and universities would voice opposition to the Communists. However, many youths have not only criticized the Red cadres openly, but they have also carried out violent actions to harm the administration. For instance, the People's Daily of June 21 and 22 reported the following:

1. A student of the Peking Medical College made a crude bomb, and on the night of June 17 he threw it at the residence of the Assistant President of that institution, named Chueh Cheng, who was also an important Red cadre. The bomb exploded and caused fire to the premises. Such a wild act naturally did much damage and brought great excitement to the neighborhood. Later, the Communists announced that the culprit had been found, and his name was Tu Mouking, 23 years of age. He was arrested by the Peking Police Bureau, and they wanted him to name all the accomplices of the crime.

2. Some students of the Peking University organized a special club, called The Hundred Flowers Society, whose main purpose was to conduct the anti-Communist propaganda campaign among youths. They sent representatives to various colleges and other institutions of high learning to persuade students to oppose the so-called "people's democratic dictatorship" of the Chinese Reds. They also published pamphlets attacking the despotic totalitarian rule of the Communists and demanded

liberty and democracy for all. A lot of this literature was distributed amongst different universities and colleges of Tientsin, Shanghai as well as Peking. They often brought forth indictments against the Reds.

More significant than the above is the fact that even in the People's University, a Communist institution, there are students who are antagonistic to the Reds. In accordance with a recent report in the People's Daily, two students of the Law Department, named Chen Hai-ko and Hung Yiu-chung, were very aggressive in their anti-Communist campaign. They gathered more than 40 varieties of substantial materials to explain the necessity of thoroughly reforming the socialist system on the mainland of China at the present time. It is said that Hung Yiu-chung was once a Red cadre, and he had been sent to the People's University by the government. If even Communists undergo these ideological changes the situation in Red China can easily be imagined.

In the northwest part of Red China, the students of various colleges and universities also appear to be very restive and rebellious. The Communists say they are desirous of starting troubles wherever and whenever possible. According to a report published in the People's Daily of June 22, the students of Shensi Normal College in the southern suburbs of Sian, the provincial capital, put up numerous posters opposing the Communist rule and attacking the Red leadership. They criticized all cadres, too, branding them as "running dogs of the Soviet imperialism; but the leading members of the Chinese Communist Party received the severest assault from the students. They also posted ten interpellations which the Reds could never answer.

Not long ago, it was reported in the press that a number of students of Nanking University demonstrated against the Red administration. The incident became so serious that the authorities had to call armed police to suppress the unrest. Though several youths were arrested and the situation was temporarily quietened, the spark of fire might burst into a big conflagration before long.

In Shanghai, there were also plenty of student troubles, and most of them wanted to ask for more freedom. They seemed to be utterly tired of the despotic totalitarian rule of the Chinese Reds, and they were particularly dissatisfied with the Communists' slavish imitation of the Soviet system and methods either in administration or of education. . . .

No wonder, then, that Mao Tse-tung and his associates should feel so scared when it was intimated to them that an uprising similar to the revolution in Hungary might be instigated by the university and college students on the mainland of China.

New York Times, July 15, 1957, "Student Dissent in Red China Is Reported to Be Widespread," by Tillman Durdin

Hongkong, July 15 -- Sharp details of the discontent among university students in China are given in Chinese Communist publications that have arrived here in the last week.

From press reports, all Communist, it is not possible to gauge the extent of the discontent, but it is clear that dissatisfaction is widely prevalent. . . .

Hongkong Standard, July 20, 1957, "Students With Rightist Thoughts Won't Get Jobs, Peking Reports"

Paris, July 19 (AFP) -- The Chinese Communist government is punishing this summer's graduates from the various institutes of higher learning for their "counter-revolutionary activities" in the current "rectification campaign," Radio Peking reported.

In a six-point directive, made public tonight, Red China's State Council said that the government will offer "no jobs" to graduates from universities, colleges and higher educational institutes, who participated actively in "counter-revolutionary activities" recently. They will instead be called upon to "reform through labor," it added.

Those students, who manifested "rightist thinking" in the "rectification campaign" but did not actively join "counter-revolutionary activities," will be given an opportunity of "familiarizing" themselves in work they were originally intended to be allotted in state factories and enterprises but they will not receive any status as workers. The period of probation runs from one to three years, the directive pointed out. . . .

In its directive, the State Council said that henceforth all graduates must undertake "physical labor" to gain practical experience in state factories and enterprises. This system, which is just being introduced, will be maintained in the future. . . .

Hongkong Standard, July 21, 1957, "Red China Puts Students Under Thought Control"

Peking, July 20 (AFP) -- The establishment and keeping it up-to-date by high schools, colleges and universities of an "individual political file" on all their registered students was made compulsory in Red China by the State Council's latest decision which was published in Peking today. . . .

Although the State Council decision gave no detail on what is meant by "political inspection," it is believed here that it is equivalent to "thoughts reform" which were imposed on anti-revolutionaries in 1952's repression, and which implied frequent participations in political and thoughts reform meetings.

The regime installed by the State Council decision which comes in the wake of the rightist deviationist purge, which is still going on in the administrative press and intellectual circles, is one of the severest ever used in the Communist world against students.

Hongkong Standard, Aug. 3, 1957, "Young Communist League Members Expelled"

An indication of the seriousness of disaffection among young Chinese Communists was given Friday by an announcement that 24 members of the Young Communist League of Tsinghua University in Peking had been expelled from the organization, Associated Press reports.

The action is reported by China Youth Daily, organ of the league, in its July 17 issue which has just reached here. It said Liu Cho-yun and 23 other league members--17 students, six teachers and one worker--"who had turned traitors during rightist frantic attacks" were kicked out. . . .

South China Morning Post, Aug. 7, 1957, "Rioting by Students in Hanyang"

Peking, Aug. 6 (Reuter) -- Newspapers here reported today that more than 1,000 middle school students in Hanyang, Central China, rioted and demonstrated against the Government on June 12 and 13.

The report said that "counter-revolutionaries," who had all since been arrested, had incited the students to smash the local Communist Party offices and kidnap leading local Communists and beat them up.

Students at the school at Hanyang, one of three towns that make up the industrial centre of Wuhan, on the Yangtze River, shouted slogans such as "Welcome to Kuomintang," "Chairman Mao will come off the stage soon" and "Down with the party district office."

The report said that on the second day of the rioting students tried to rush an ammunition depot but failed.

The ring-leaders included the vice-principal of the school and several teachers.

The report said counter-revolutionaries had for some time been carrying out activities in Hanyang No. 1 Middle School against the leadership of the Communist Party Committees both in the school itself and surrounding district.

When criticism was called for by the Government, "they thought their time was ripe and became more active in inciting teachers and students to riot and to attack party committees."

The newspapers said the whole thing was organized by Rightists in Wuhan who came under instructions of the Chang-Lo alliance--the alleged alliance between the Ministers of Communications, Mr. Chang Po-chun and of the Timber Industry, Mr. Lo Lung-chi, to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party.

The report continued: "under the instigation of counter-revolutionaries, a strike and demonstration were first started by making use of dissatisfaction among some graduating students who were facing the question of production or promotion."

(Many students in China have been told this year that they cannot continue their education and be promoted to higher grades but must go into productive work in factories or on land).

Demonstrating students on June 12 posted a number of bills in streets containing slogans.

In the afternoon, the demonstrators "rushed into the offices of the People's District Committee and the Party's District Committee and smashed all the rooms."

In the evening, the students rushed into the office of the military authorities, trying to seize the director, and even tried to open the arms and ammunition depot but failed to break down the door.

"Urgent directions" were given to the vice-principal of the school, Wang Chien-kuo, to resume classes but he ignored them.

"He was performing his duties negligently and was arranging a riot for next day and planning to stir up peasants in the neighborhood to join the student demonstrators," the report said.

The report continued that on the second day of the demonstration students "brought to the magistrate many unreasonable demands."

The magistrate receive some representatives of the demonstrators and discussed their demands. "This calmed down a large part of the students, but some counter-revolutionaries among them were far from satisfied and incited the rest to make more trouble."

A group produced rope and tried to tie up the magistrate, but when they were unsuccessful they tied up three cadres who tried to protect him.

The students then surrounded the office of the party's district committee "where they beat up a great many cadres of that office."

The newspapers said that workers and peasants in the area were angry with the students and refused to join them, and for this reason a further demonstration planned for June 14 was called off.

An inspection team made up of Communist committees and police carried out a two-month investigation into the trouble and the leaders, including one student were arrested.

Washington Daily News, Aug. 13, 1957, "China Youth Revolting Against Commie Rule," by Jack Russell, Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Hongkong, Aug. 13 -- The Communist dictatorship in eight years of rule in China has failed to win the full support of the Chinese youth.

Classroom revolts during the party's recent "rectification" campaign proved that the youth, on whom the Red leaders always have counted for their strongest support, were not sold on Communism.

Reports today from Communist publications reaching Hongkong indicate that the massive brainwashing so far has been a flop.

Trouble started in May after the Communist Party's central committee asked for criticism to rectify the party's errors in bureaucratism, secretarianism and subjectivism.

Chinese students, who volunteered their help without being asked, lambasted the entire structure of the Communist regime.

A student of French at Nanking University acidly commented: "In my opinion 10 million out of the 12 million party members should be killed during the present rectification."

A girl law student at the People's University in Peiping, in a speech to other students charged: "There is no genuine democracy in China."

Other students, in equally loud and vitriolic voices, demanding that the study of Marx and Lenin be abandoned as "outdated" theories. Professors voiced bitter complaints against the party's iron-fisted control over the policies and operation of schools. . . .

South China Morning Post, Aug. 22, 1957, "China Gaols 'Reactionary' Students"

Peking, Aug. 21 (Reuter) -- Four students at a teachers' training college in Changsha have been sentenced to long terms of forced labor reform for beating a driver who tried to stop them posting "reactionary notices" on his bus.

The students, who were said to be a centre of anti-Government criticism at the start of the rectification campaign in college, were sentenced to terms ranging from five to two years' "forced reformation through labor," the Kuangming Daily reported.

The students had taken over the college's broadcasting room to spread their "absurd and reactionary discourses." . . .

Hongkong Standard, Aug. 25, 1957, "Parents in Tientsin Protest Red Decree"

The gravity of Red China's shortage of classrooms and qualified teachers is underscored by reports from Tientsin that 80,000 parents have protested the curtailment of education for their children in secondary and primary schools, Associated Press reports. . . .

The teacher-classroom shortage has forced the government to decree that thousands of students, who normally would continue schooling, now must go to work instead. Even jobs being offered in many cases are not to the liking of students or parents.

The new decree has created unrest punctuated by rioting in some cities. . . .

South China Morning Post, Sept. 3, 1957, "'Brain Washing' of Students in China"

Peking, Sept. 2 -- School starts again today for China's 70,000,000 middle and primary school students after their long summer vacation. In addition to the normal scholastic curriculum, they will return to intensive political studies aimed at showing them the superiority of Communism. . . .

There have been many reports of dissatisfaction and unrest among students, particularly the older ones in high schools and universities, who will also soon be returning to their studies.

All can expect that for the first term at least, a great part of their time will be taken up with "brainwashing"--education in Socialism and thought reform.

They will be told to shake off their bourgeois habits and ideas, and to understand that "there is no road for China between Socialism and capitalism."

It is expected that those who were very outspoken when criticism was called for at the start of the rectification movement will be branded as "rightists" and will have to bear the whole brunt of organized public criticism in their schools.

Hongkong Standard, Sept. 8, 1957, "3 Leaders Executed in Hanyang"

Peking, Sept. 7 (Reuter) -- Chinese papers reported today that three ring-leaders of student riots in Hanyang last June were executed yesterday.

Reports of the riots published in Chinese newspapers on Aug. 6, said that more than 1,000 school students in Hanyang, Central China, rioted and demonstrated against the government on June 12 and 13. . . .

The Peking report said that the sentence of an earlier court hearing was read out at a mass meeting of over 10,000 people yesterday and immediately carried out. Those executed were Wang Chien-kuo the vice-principal, Chung Yu-wen, a teacher in the school and Yang Huan-yao a chief official in the Hanyang branch of the China Democratic League--one of the "democratic" parties which support the Communists.

Four other leaders were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from five to 15 years.

Observers here said that the executions showed that the Communists wanted to give a clear warning to other students who might think of giving physical evidence of their private discontents. . . .

Vital Speeches of the Day, Oct. 15, 1957, "Repercussions of Hungarian Uprising on Mainland Chinese," Speech delivered before the Plenary Meeting of the 12th regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on Sept. 26, 1957, by Dr. Hu Shih, representative of China to the United Nations

. . . Today, Mr. President, I would like to pay a tribute to the freedom-fighters of Hungary in the form of a report on what great repercussions the Hungarian uprising has produced on my people on the Chinese Mainland.

The Chinese people on the Mainland seemed to have learned a great deal about the Hungarian uprising, and were greatly excited by it. . . .

What was most exciting to the imagination of the Chinese people living under Communist tyranny was the clear and indelible impression that the powerful and ruthless Communist dictatorship in Hungary, after ten years of absolute political

control and ideological remolding, was suddenly swept away by the spontaneous uprising of ill-armed students and factory workers. It suddenly found itself deserted by the people, by its own army and by its own police force, and was restored only by the intervention of Soviet forces.

Moreover, the Hungarian revolution appeared to look beyond Communism and aspire to a democratic revolution, abolishing the secret security police, discarding the one-party system, restoring a free press and a free radio, and pledging to hold free elections in the near future. It was these anti-Communist and democratic manifestations that made the Hungarian uprising more exciting to the Chinese people on the Mainland. . . .

The events in Hungary have given rise to two important anti-Communist movements on the Chinese Mainland during the last few months. One of these has been a nation-wide outbreak of anti-Communist movement among the students in the universities, colleges and middle schools. The other has been one full month of outspoken criticism and attack on the Communist Party by many Chinese intellectuals in the Universities and in the so-called "democratic parties." . . .

And recent student revolt in China furnishes us the best proof that, after eight years of absolute rule and ideological molding, the students in China are almost unanimously in opposition to the Communist regime.

The recent student revolt began in the Peking University on May 4th, a date made memorable 38 years ago by the historic "May 4th" student movement of 1919, which was also started by the students of Peking University.

On the evening of May 4, 1957, 8,000 students gathered at a commemoration meeting, at which 19 student leaders made fiery speeches openly attacking the Communist regime for suppressing freedom and democracy in the schools and in the country. From that evening on, the wall-newspapers of the Peking University became the open forum of the free opinion of the students. . . .

By the first week of June, the student movement threatened to break out into a popular uprising of the Hungarian type. . . .

But the Communist regime, realizing the gravity of the situation, took repressive measures in all the large centers of student population to isolate the student groups, arrest the ringleaders, and prevent all street demonstrations.

The most serious case of student rioting took place in the industrial city of Hanyang in Central China. Nearly a thousand students of the First Middle School

of Hanyang went on strike on June 12, and demonstrated in the streets, shouting anti-Communist slogans and hoisting anti-Communist banners.

News of the Hanyang student riots was not made public until nearly two months later. And, just ten days before the opening of the 12th Assembly of the United Nations, on September 7, Reuters reported that "three ringleaders of student riots in Hanyang last June were executed yesterday at a mass meeting of 10,000 spectators", and that "other leaders were sentenced to prison terms of from five to 15 years."

The official Communist report said that the instigators of the Hanyang riots had called them "the Hungarian events in miniature."

The student unrest, protest and riot formed one of the two great manifestations of the anti-Communist feelings of my people on the Mainland. . . .

South China Morning Post, October 29, 1957 "Control of Students in China"

Peking, October 28 (Reuter) -- The Chinese Communist Party is transferring 1,000 senior and middle grade Party cadres to work in universities, schools and institutes of science and culture, the People's Daily reported to-day.

The cadres, who come from the Party's central administrative organisations, will take up important positions and will guide the work of political education and generally supervise the running of the institution to which they are posted.

Some 200 of the thousand are above the rank of a department head and will be appointed secretaries of the colleges, schools or research institutes to which they are sent.

New York Times, November 11, 1957, "Communists Send Students to Work on Farms," by Greg MacGregor

Hongkong, November 10 -- Thousands of students in Communist China have been sent to rural areas for work on farms; reports from a number of the country's provinces disclosed last week.

Mass transfers of teachers and university employes to farm cooperatives were also announced from Peiping and other centers of learning in China.

These shifts were believed by observers here to have been planned with a two-fold purpose: first, to step up badly lagging agricultural production with desperately needed labor reinforcements and, second, to reduce the possibility of further student unrest such as that displayed after the Hungarian revolt a year ago.

Evidence of student unrest continued to be manifested this year to a lesser degree at a number of leading institutions in China. Many teachers and university employees were accused by the Communist administration of at least partial responsibility for the demonstrations. . . .

Hongkong Standard, December 31, 1957, "'Hungarian Incident' Plotted by Students of Kiangsi School"

A "Hungarian Incident" was plotted by students of a normal school in Kiangsi Province but it did not come off.

Instead, the organisation called Cosmos Party was smashed and the ringleaders arrested in July.

The plot, said the Kiangsi Daily News (a copy of which reached Hongkong yesterday), was hatched last year.

Led by Fu Lin-hui and Yang Kuo-hsing, the rebel students tried to procure arms and carried out counter-revolutionary and subversive activities, said the newspaper.

According to the plans of the Cosmos Party, added the Kiangsi Daily News, the rebels plotted to seize the municipality of Fuchow and to "create a minor Hungarian incident."

They also conspired to "win over the Liberation Army through persuasion by the wives of army officers."

The report did not mention the strength of the organisation but hinted that it embraced a large number of students.

The Kiangsi Daily News charged that the Cosmos Party "maintained that the principle conflict was the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States" and described the Peking regime as "a pawn of the Soviet Union which has lost its national dignity."

Other "subversive propapanda" spread by the rebel body of students included the description of the relationship between the Soviet Union and Communist China as "a relationship between master and slave."

Communism was likened to Hitler's rule and the Communist Youth League was denounced as "an organisation of plain-clothesmen of the Communist Party for the supervision of youth."

One of the ringleaders, Yang Kuo-hsing, was quoted by the Kiangsi Daily News as once stating that "if I were drafted for military service, I would be-

come a machinegunner so that when necessary I might turn my gun against them (the Communists) and finish them off!" and "if I had a plane I would certainly fly to Taiwan and tell the world about the evils of the Community Party." . . .

Hongkong Standard, April 14, 1958, "Reds' New Education System Irks"

The Chinese Communists' new educational system known as "combination of studies with labour" has aroused universal discontent among the teachers and students and has also met opposition from students' guardians on the mainland.

The Chinese Youth News of Peking said in a recent report:

"Among the students and teachers some have raised open opposition to the combination of studies with labour and some have also cast their doubts on the feasibility of the measure fearing that it would lower the quality of teaching and affect the students' security."

The Communist paper also revealed that owing to the implementation of the programme, confusion has reigned in varying degrees in various schools.

Under the new educational system, the students are to devote one month a year to vacation, four months to manual work and seven months to studies.

In the opinion of local observers, this so-called new educational system is actually aimed at perpetuating the "volunteer labour" programme intermittently carried out in the past and broadening the scope of exploitation of students. . . .

The sad plight of these students may be discerned in a report of the Nanfong Daily of Canton of April 7.

It admitted: "Some schools, to carry out the measure of combination of studies with labour, have mobilised large groups of students to participate in shock work in factories and discontinued attendance at classes by turns."

"This not only affects the students' education but also makes them so exhausted that many have fallen ill."

New York Herald Tribune, April 30, 1958, "Forced Human Migration Underway in China"

Tokyo -- Almost unobserved by the outside world, a vast human migration, perhaps the greatest in history is underway in Communist China.

At the pleasure of the rulers, "excess" students, discredited intellectuals, armed forces dependents, government and Communist party workers and peasants who had deserted the land are being sent to farms singly and in groups.

Peiping has not stated how many already have been moved, but hundreds of official reports mention anything from a few dozen out of a typically over-staffed government office to more than 3,000,000 grade and high school pupils.

Why this forced social upheaval? Peiping has been candid:

In the first place, urban population has burgeoned since the Communists came to power in 1949. . . .

Almost all enterprises, mostly state-run, are glutted with manpower. . . .

School facilities are inadequate at all levels. Children--many of who have turned to hooliganism--must be kept occupied. . . .

Far Eastern Economic Review, June 5, 1958, "Chinese Students Off to the Countryside"

Millions of intellectuals, college students, and secondary and primary school children whose academic education was cut short have been sent by the Government into the primitive countryside, where until the Communists came to power life had remained largely unchanged for a thousand years. It is obvious that this infusion of literacy into the largely illiterate rural areas is bound to have a great influence for good or ill. Most of them went to the villages in a thoroughly disgruntled state of mind. All their hopes appeared to have been blighted, first, by the final interruption of their schooling, and second, by the refusal to provide jobs for them in Government institutions or in State enterprises in the cities. . . . If they are disgruntled and enraged, they will provide another and more powerful focus for the discontent revealed in many parts of the country as a result of the free debate in the cities which set fire to the many discontents in the farming areas.

An editorial in the Peking People's Daily gave a fairly graphic indication of the present mood of these students. No doubt it was coloured in favour of the Party outlook, but even so it throws light on what is one of the most ~~momentous turns in the whole~~ Chinese Revolution: --

"This year some three million graduates from secondary and primary schools in both urban and rural areas in the whole country have joined in agricultural production," says the Party's official organization. In the short period of several months since they went to the villages, most of these students behaved satisfactorily in rendering productive labor. They worked enthusiastically, suffered hardships and endured fatigue, observed labor discipline, ~~correctly behaved~~ agri-

cultural productive techniques, associated harmoniously with local peasants, and thus earned the goodwill of cadres and members of agricultural cooperatives. This is the major side of the picture. However, according to information received from many places, there are also some students who, up to the moment, are far from satisfied. Hence, we should pay attention to strengthening ideological political education among students participating in production this year, to reinforcing their confidence in joining production, and to doing everything to make them useful. . . .

Some of the students worked very enthusiastically when they first came to the villages; but, after a period, their enthusiasm for labor gradually cooled, because they could not suffer hardships and endure fatigue. It should be pointed out that, since the country's industry and scientific technique are comparatively backward and within a short period cannot supply agriculture with any large quantities of modern machinery, for a considerable period to come agricultural production will still have to rely mainly upon comparatively simple tools and heavy manual labor. . . .

Some junior and senior middle school graduates go to the villages with a sense of "superiority", considering that since they have a certain basic knowledge in culture and science, they are going to "reform" the villages. . . . If they want to "reform" the countryside, they should first reform themselves and politely learn from the peasants. . . .

Students working in the village still have problems in varying degrees in respect of their food, lodging, work points, shares in the cooperative, and their relations with cadres and local peasants. . . .

From now on, we not only must continue to mobilize still more secondary and primary school graduates to go to the villages and mountainous areas, but also must consolidate the labor enthusiasm of those who are already in the countryside, so as to enable them to take root and become a positive force in the countryside's productive construction and scientific and cultural enterprises. Each and every-one of us should strive to realize this goal.

CZECH

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia has been called the most docile of Moscow's satellites. In the face of a bloody revolution in Hungary and a "quiet" one in Poland, Czechoslovakia--on the surface at least--has remained an oasis of comparative calm. Beneath the surface, however, there is restiveness.

The reasons for this outward calm are not hard to find. The country is surrounded on almost every side by heavy concentrations of Soviet troops. The people are aware that under the terms of the Warsaw Pact, to which their government is bound, the Soviet Union could move these troops into Czechoslovakia under almost any pretext.

In addition, the brutality with which the Soviet Union suppressed Hungary's bid for freedom has served the Czechoslovaks as a painful reminder, if one were needed, of the failure of their own uprising in Pilsen in June, 1953.

Nevertheless, there is evidence of restlessness among the Czechoslovak people. This is borne out by a spate of newspaper reports attesting to the activities of the activities of the secret police in frustrating attempts at "subversion and sabotage."

One of the most recent of such reports concerned a group of people who, according to a Radio Prague broadcast of March 1, 1957, had planned a popular demonstration against the government.

The conspirators were also accused, the broadcast said, of having written a letter "demanding that the United Nations put the suppression of personal freedoms in Czechoslovakia on its agenda."

In order to emphasize the alertness of the Communist security police, a series of "show" trials of alleged saboteurs and reactionaries has been given wide publicity.

One of the strangest of these trials involved nine youngsters who, with their leader, Jan Manas, were charged with founding an illegal organization called the "Slovak Golden Eagles."

"The accused," according to Radio Bratislava on February 27, 1957, "secretly formed an anti-state group, the so-called 'Slovak Golden Eagles,' which had as its aim the revival of boy scout activities and in this way planned to divert Slovak youth from construction work." . . . (Unrest in Czechoslovakia, 1957, by Andrew

Keller, pseudonym of Hungarian who escaped to West in 1954.)

Background Material:

Hongkong Standard, May 28, 1956, "Czech, Polish University Students Want Cut in Marx-Leninism Courses"

Vienna, Austria, May 27 (AP) - Communist Czechoslovakia is experiencing an outburst of unrest among its university students.

They are accused of presenting ultimatums demanding reduction in Marx-Leninism courses, a cut in military training and the restoration of academic freedom.

The Czechoslovak students' revolt appears centred in Slovakia, although the national capital, Prague, has had a taste of it.

Pravda and Praca, the two main newspapers of Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, report "stormy and demagogic protests by university students which have been condemned by Communist authorities."

Bratislava Pravda denounced what it called a stormy meeting by students in the Comenius University in which they presented demands in "the tone of an ultimatum". They wanted Communist Party and Communist Youth League controls over the student body reduced or removed altogether. They demanded reduction or elimination of military training, longer vacations, better housing and lower tuitions.

Bratislava Praca reported that students in the Agricultural College at Nitra demanded reduction or elimination of courses in Marx-Leninism, calling them useless. When school authorities tore their resolution from the bulletin board, the students staged small riots in their dormitories.

Students in Prague, Bratislava and Banska Bystrica lamooned the government and university authorities in their May carnival parades. Bratislava Pravda condemned Slovak students who carried a coffin inscribed "academic freedom."

Christian Science Monitor, June 21, 1956, "Czech Students Prove Independence"

New York - Czechoslovakia's students have shown that, despite eight years of Communist efforts to make them obedient citizens of their one-party satellite state, they still are able to think for themselves.

As reported by the Mid-European Press, Inc., a number of meetings were held in various Czech schools between April 24 and May 16. The students drafted and approved several resolutions, all of which contained demands of a political character. . . .

The text of ~~the~~ resolution, which follows, is translated from the original. . . .

I. Democratization of the public life.

"The press does not perform its function to inform the public quickly and accurately The Czechoslovak press reporting on Western countries is not objective. Factual material from original sources should be published instead of mere excerpts and commentaries from Western press frequently taken from Soviet papers. United Nations speeches are printed in such a way that the Czechoslovak press brings only Soviet bloc representatives' speeches and not those of the Western representatives. . . .

"All the shortcomings could be removed by abolishing the censorship which still exists. We demand more foreign magazines, at least for the libraries.

"Jamming of foreign radio stations is below the dignity of our country. Our press and radio should inform faster than these foreign stations. Radio should be an instrument of free discussion. . . .

"We demand that all political trials be put before the courts again. We demand that both the new trials and the punishment of guilty individuals be announced publicly by the press and radio.

II. Relations with the Soviet Union.

"The influence of the Soviet Union on our history, as well as on our political and cultural life, is being exaggerated. The slogan, 'Soviet Union is our model,' is mechanically applied. . . Farther, everything from the Soviet Union is being uncritically accepted in our country. Also, Soviet traditions, alien to our way of life . . . are being forcibly applied.

"Bad Soviet films are imported without judgment, and unsuitable Soviet literature is translated. Also, the image of the Soviet Union is too much idealized. Our people who visit the U.S.S.R. as tourists return home disillusioned. The Soviet national anthem is played and the Soviet flag displayed even at occasions which have nothing to do with the Soviet Union. For example, on May 1, at graduation ceremonies, and at the end of the daily radio broadcasts.

III. The cultural life.

"We demand that:

"1. Importation be facilitated and translations furnished of literary works and magazines from the West, not only those of technical, but also those of philosophical, political, and fictional character.

"2. All students be given access to literature which is nowadays classified by the University library as libri prohibiti (forbidden books).

"3. The Marxist concept of the world must evolve in competition with pure philosophy. Therefore it is necessary that students be informed on non-Marxian thought.

"4. Western films be imported on a broader basis.

"5. Visits to foreign countries be made possible.

"6. Publishing programs be revised according to the demand. . . cuts in publishing of dubious propaganda material. This will save some paper.

"7. It is erroneous and undignified to make changes in literary works. . ."

(In Chapter IV, dealing with education, the students demanded reforms in a "democratic spirit". In Chapter V, dealing with physical training, the students demanded reestablishment of the internationally renowned Sokol organization, which was dissolved by the Communist regime.)

In the last section, the students asked several questions to have the obscure state of some public affairs cleared up. Among them were:

Whether the non-Communist parties in the so-called National Front played any but a purely formal role.

Who is managing the Jachymov uranium mines, operated for the benefit of the Soviet Union.

Why Soviet citizens enjoy preferential positions in the Jachymov mines and elsewhere, for instance the Soviet school in Prague XIV. . . .

New York Times, June 27, 1956, "Czech Party Line Set For Students" by Sydney Gruson

Prague, June 26 -- The Government announced today a number of measures to impress Communist ideology on Czechoslovak universities.

Education Minister Frantisek Kahuda spelled out in detail the Communist leadership's rebuff of recent student demands for more academic freedom in the universities and more political freedom in the country.

The system of "class selection" of university students is to be restored. . . .

Along with the restoration of "class selection" there is to be intensification of political training. Teachers will be expected not only to teach Marxism-Leninism but also, in the words of the Education Minister, to "win over" the students.

The students' demands for more democracy, put forward in demonstrations and resolutions, have become a policy through the

M. Kahuda blamed those students permitted into the universities when "class selection" was relaxed for the "most aggressive and most unjustified manifestations" of "provocation" represented by the demonstrations and resolutions.

Hongkong Standard, July 24, 1956, "De-Stalinization Unrest Extends to Czechoslovakia," by K. C. Thaler

London, July 23 (UP) -- The mushroom cloud of de-Stalinization is now hanging over Czechoslovakia - until now the most "stable" of all Moscow East European satellites. . . .

Early in May a student delegation stepped forward and pressed the government to re-organize school plans and grant greater freedom of teaching. Their request was rejected as "provocative."

Discussions at Prague University last month on liberalization of teaching led to open demonstrations at which the Communist regime was attacked and mocked.

These demonstrations were later officially labelled as "provocations" and a wave of arrests followed.

Fifty students were reported to have since fled to Austria to escape arrest.

Similar incidents happened at the April Czech writers congress where two writers - Frantisek Hrubin and Ladislav Mnacko - sharply attacked some Communist measures and openly criticized "arbitrary" arrests.

Intellectuals and students have since been cautioned to put less emphasis on ideology and focus their discussions on economic problems. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 24, 1957, "Communists Press Attack Against Czech Universities"

Prague (Reuters) -- After nine years of Communist rule, Czechoslovak universities are still breeding grounds of bourgeois ideas, according to Communist leaders here.

To combat this tendency, the regime has ordered the introduction of a new system of selection of university students aimed at enrolling children of workers and peasant families.

The move indicated official concern in Czechoslovakia at what is described as the "hostility" of some of the youth and intelligentsia. Such hostility, it is said, provided the driving force for the Polish and Hungarian upheavals last year.

Under amended rules for entrance to the universities, interviews are to replace the old system of examinations. University officials will be aided in interviewing

candidates by permanent representatives of national committees, the Communist-
dominated local government organs.

The move comes after a decision by the Communist authorities this year to forbid university students in Prague from holding their annual May Day procession because last year the students poked fun at aspects of the Communist regime and Mlada Fronta, the newspaper of the Communist - led National Youth Organization. Members of the editorial staff of Mlada Fronta were represented on a float with their mouths sealed by bandages and their ears plugged with cotton wool. The float drew much applause. . . .

The students were rebuked after last year's parade and warned not to put forward "wrong and confused demands, resulting from petty bourgeois radicalism and liberalism." Their behavior, said the Communist Party, had aroused "grave anxiety on the part of the working people."

Periodic rumors since the Hungarian uprising have spoken of continuing arrests by security police among the students, particularly at Bratislava, regional capital of Slovakia, which has racial and historical affinities with Hungary." . . .

According to Zivot Strany, a Communist Party review, one of the main reasons for the student problem today is the "inadequate ideological level" of the professors

Zivot Strany blamed the social science courses "which still show many great shortcomings. . . . Their knowledge of Marxism - Leninism comes mostly from books." Some of the social-science teachers must be removed, it said, and replaced by experienced political workers. "The Communist Party must direct the activities of all organizations and of all life at universities."

Supporting moves to change the social composition of university students. Zivot Strany said, "children of former capitalists and enemies of the regime must not be allowed to enter the universities. Such people have no place there because the interests of the people and of socialism are completely alien to them."

Communist officials call for greater efforts by the National Youth Organization among university and other students. However, they add, the youth organization must first solve a problem of its own - that only 5 per cent of its 1,200,000 members have joined the Communist Party.

E, GERMANY

EAST GERMANY

Communism is threatened with the loss of a generation. From the Kremlin to the ruins of East Berlin, the Communists bewail the indifference, neutrality and hostility of youth to their cause. . . .

. . . the Communists feel that if they lose youth they are doomed. Delinquency often is political or has anti-Communist overtones.

Look at these examples of juvenile "delinquents" singled out for harsh criticism in the East German Communist press:

--Boys and girls at a Communist youth rally in Zittau got up and said: "We believe in God. Therefore we do not believe in Communism because the Communists are atheists."

--Manfred Kindler was expelled from a Goerlitz High School because he defied a Communist ban to travel to West Germany.

--Seventeen-year-old Peter Dobbitsch in Aschersleben formed an anti-Communist club named "Union to Revive the Common Morality."

--At the University of Halle Wolfgang Barthold attempted to organize a student strike to demand abolition of the compulsory study of Russian.

--At East Berlin's Humboldt University Holger Hansen organized a group for "counter-revolutionary agitation." . . .

Similar reports come from all over Eastern Europe. . . .

East German Communists now are trying to weed out rebels before they get into institutions of higher learning.

All high school graduates now must work a year in industry before they go on to college. In this year, the Communists said, the "Loyalty" of the graduates to the working class will be tested and examined. . . . (Mainichi (Tokyo, Japan), Jan. 13, 1958, "Hostile Youth Reds' Big Problem," by Joseph Fleming, United Press).

Background Material:

Hongkong Standard, June 1, 1956, "Students Win As German Reds Give In"

Berlin, May 30 (AP) -- University students at Dresden in East Germany were reported Wednesday to have staged two protest demonstrations and forced Communist authorities to rescind a ban on travel to West Germany.

The report came from the West German Ministry for all-German Affairs.

It said students at the Dresden Technical University held protest rallies last Thursday and Friday against a move that would bar them from travelling to West Germany during vacations. . . .

About 1,500 students gathered for a protest meeting Thursday. They sent a protest resolution to East German Premier Otto Grotewohl.

On the next day, 2,000 students staged another meeting in a heavy rain. It was announced later that travel permits would be granted as previously to students with good reasons for going to West Germany.

There were no arrests or rioting at either of the rallies.

Baltimore Sun, Sept. 19, 1956, "German Reds Woo Children at Doll Stage," by Edward C. Burks

Berlin, Sept. 18 -- The present Communist campaign to win over East German youth begins at the teddy-bear and doll-baby stage and continues through the teen years.

This can be witnessed at Dresden, where the beautiful palace of a onetime Hohenzollern prince has been converted into an amusement and indoctrination center for "Pioneers," youngsters the Reds want to train.

Children are encouraged to leave their homes to come to this huge building and its extensive grounds to play. Here they are never far from a Communist instruction room or from pictures and slogans praising the regime and its leaders, such as the Communist boss, Walter Ulbricht. . . .

This is the kind of place where the Communists give a major tug on youngsters to pull them away from their families and from what their families might teach them.

Not everybody can be a Pioneer, and, of course, great hordes of youngsters don't even want to be. Pioneers are a kind of pampered elite among children. . . .

This September youths are being drafted by Red authorities to help harvest in the fields. One 13-year-old youngster reported he had to work in the fields or receive school punishment--not a whipping, of course, but some form of extra work.

Chicago Daily Tribune, Sept. 27, 1956, "East German Reds Push on to Win Youth," by Larry Rue

Berlin, Sept. 26 -- Simultaneous with its anti-religious policy, the East German government is making an all-out attempt to capture youth and complete the communizing of the Soviet Zone.

Thousands of former teachers, dentists, pharmacists, and civil servants must subsist on a monthly social welfare grant of 65 marks, but 90 per cent of the 60,000 students enrolled in the six universities and 40 colleges in the Soviet Zone receive larger state allowances. These vary from 150 to 275 marks a month (the official exchange rate is 2.2 Eastmarks for United States dollar).

Of the 10,000 students at East Berlin's Humboldt university, 30 per cent have received scholarships. . . .

Despite these privileges, thousands have escaped to study in West Berlin and West German universities.

Of the 9,500 students attending West Berlin's free university, 3,000 are from the Soviet Zone.

Most eligible for college and university education in East Germany are the sons and daughters of "workers and peasants." Those belonging to the former middle classes often are denied higher education.

The state also takes care of the school children. Last summer 670,000 East German boys and girls spent their holidays in youth camps. There, besides games and excursions, they were given political lessons. . . .

Washington Post and Times Herald, Nov. 2, 1956, "E. German Students Told Soviet Troops Must Stay"

Berlin, Nov. 1 (UP) -- Communist East Germany met rising student unrest today with an announcement that Soviet troops will remain.

The statement indicated the Reds would not hesitate to call out some or all of the 22 Soviet occupation divisions in East Germany should student opposition flame into a revolt.

Travelers arriving in West Berlin said two Soviet armored divisions have been stationed outside the city. New Soviet troope concentrations were reported around Leipzig, where students have been demanding reform.

Students today demanded removal of their universities from Communist control and formation of non-Communist youth groups.

They also called for an end to compulsory study of the Russian language and required courses on Marxism.

The list of demands included de-Stalinization of the government, free elections of student councils, and abolition of student military training. . . .

A delegation of students from Humboldt University in East Berlin even sent a telegram to the University of Budapest expressing sympathy with Hungarian rebels.

Five-hundred Humboldt students sent a formal resolution to the Education Ministry demanding reforms.

Education Minister Fritz Lange said some high-school students soon would be permitted to choose between English and French as their first foreign language rather than Russian.

Students in primary schools who are not good at languages may be permitted to drop the study of Russian, he said.

Chicago Daily Tribune, Nov. 3, 1956, "German Reds Fight Student Unrest Wave"

Berlin, Nov. 2 (AP) -- Communist East Germany today bucked a wave of anti-Russian student unrest spreading from East Berlin to Dresden.

The Communist party organ Neues Deutschland rejected student demands for abolition of compulsory Russian instruction in universities.

The education minister, Fritz Lange, said, however, that a number of the country's newly organized high schools would drop compulsory instruction in Russian and emphasize French and English.

By giving in partially, the Red government apparently hoped to avert student demonstrations similar to those that touched off the Hungarian revolution. . . .

Reports received in West Berlin, said that 500 East Berlin university medical students held a stormy session on Tuesday night at which the red government was criticized. Several hundred Communist policemen and militiamen were reported to have taken positions in university buildings around the meeting site. . . .

Saechsische Zeitung the Communist party newspaper in Dresden, disclosed that student dissatisfaction was growing there, too. It criticized what it called a lack of clarity among students about the anti-Soviet developments in Poland and Hungary.

The paper admitted that students were asking why so many workers were taking part in what it called the Hungarian "fascist putsch."

South China Morning Post, Nov. 4, 1956, "East German Students Near To Revolt"

Berlin, Nov. 3 (UP) -- East German students on the verge of open revolt today distributed anti-Communist leaflets hinting at a Hungarian-type uprising. Thousands of leaflets were given out at East Berlin's Humboldt University. They read "We

demand more training in the framework of the Society for Sport and Technology.

The example of Hungary shows we can use it." . . .

Defence Minister Willi Stoph in a speech reported by the Communist Press said "Every student has the right to make suggestions, but the Government never will allow the enemies of our republic to interfere in our affairs." . . .

The East German Premier, Herr Otto Grotewohl, today threatened anti-Communists with the force of 22 Soviet divisions if they rebel as Hungarians did. . . .

He warned rebellious students who are sparking an East German Titoist movement he would no longer tolerate unrest in the universities.

He said bluntly that Soviet troops were in Germany and would remain in Germany "to protect the peaceful and democratic work of our people." . . .

New York Times, Dec. 3, 1956, "Youth Is Warned in East Germany," by Harry Gilroy

Berlin, Dec. 2 -- East German students were reminded by a Communist newspaper article today that they might be dismissed from schools and colleges if they helped "the international counter-revolution."

This warning appeared in Neues Deutschland, organ of the Socialist Unity (Communist) party. It was in the form of a report about a student meeting in Leipzig Friday night. The students were advised not to act in the manner of the intellectuals who took part in the revolt in Hungary. . . .

Manchester Guardian, Dec. 6, 1956, "Student Unrest in E. Germany"

Bonn, Dec. 5 -- The East German authorities have rejected demands made by the Federal German Students' Association for information about 350 students and school and university teachers who have been arrested and imprisoned in the German Democratic Republic. After scrutinising the list sent to him by the association, the president of the Volkskammer, Herr Dieckmann, has stated that only 86 of the names on it are those of people who are still in prison. . . .

The airy manner in which Herr Dieckmann has tried to sidetrack this demand for information will blind nobody to the fact that the East German Government is growing seriously worried by signs of dissatisfaction among youth and the intellectuals.

It has made a number of concessions, including the lifting of the ban on cowboy shirts and boogie-woogie, the granting of the right to hold political discussions, and the lifting of some restrictions on foreign travel. It has voted 2.5 million

marks this year for material improvements in schools. In spite of all this there have been continued grumblings, especially in the universities of Dresden, Leipzig, and East Berlin. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 12, 1956, "East Germany Bares Student Unrest," by J. Emlyn Williams

Bonn, Germany -- Sympathy among university students for Hungary's freedom fight and their sharp opposition to official Communist policy are among serious problems facing the East German regime, according to information in their own controlled press nowadays. . . .

In one particular case, opposition among students in East Germany's largest technical college, at Dresden, is reported in Sachische Zeitung. Students protested the defeat of Hungary's national revolution by observing one minute of silence. . . .

Even after disciplinary measures started against organizers of the Hungarian protest, other students collected signatures against these measures. . . .

Seriousness of the situation and how authorities intend to deal with it is shown in a recent speech by Walter Ulbricht, secretary-general of the Socialist Unity Party to leading officials and members of its central committee. . . .

Negative reactions in the universities are very serious, Herr Ulbricht admitted. These should be severely dealt with. "The party line is right. The party has changed but the lower level of instructors has not learned to apply these changes in practice and to convince the masses of the rightness of this party line."

Responsibility for this student unrest is traced to a number of factors. Communist propagandists see these as, first, the students' own "unrealistic attitude" toward life. Second, influence of delegations of Western students who have recently visited East Germany. . . .

New York Times, Dec. 13, 1956, "Students Ousted in East Germany," by Harry Gilroy

Berlin, Dec. 12 -- An increasingly rebellious mood among young East Germans is evoking stern measures from Communist leaders. A purge of collegiate ranks is the latest such move reported here.

D.P.A., West Germany news agency, stated today it had learned from East German students who fled to West Berlin that "unreliable elements" were being compelled to withdraw from all universities and technical colleges by the East German Government.

Twenty students recently withdrew under pressure from the Technical College in Dresden, according to the report.

Walter Ulbricht, First Deputy Premier and First Secretary of the Socialist Unity (Communist) party, gave all East German students a blunt warning in an open letter today. The letter was published in a special edition of Forum, the student newspaper.

Herr Ulbricht wrote that "only those who are loyal to the workers and students power can study at our universities and academies."

It is necessary to act against those given to "disintegrating criticism" and against "trouble-makers," Herr Ulbricht said, adding:

"Anyone who tries to preserve or restore capitalism, even if he conceals it with hypocritical slogans or pseudo revolutionary phrases, attempts to turn back the wheel of history and will be shattered." . . .

An indication of the specific "trouble making" at the Dresden Technical College appeared in last Saturday's edition of Saechsische Zeitung, published in Dresden.

A small group of "squallers" in a chemistry class "organized a minute of silence as a sign of mourning for the defeated counter-revolution in Hungary," according to an editorial.

The editorial revealed that disciplinary action had been taken against the students involved.

Another indication of the trouble brewing in East German educational institutions came to notice two weeks ago with the arrest of a young Berlin professor of Marxist philosophy. He and three associates were charged with having organized a group "hostile to the state."

They were declared to have connections with the Petofi Circle in Hungary. This was the group of intellectuals whose call for freedom of thought ignited the revolution against the Hungarian Communist regime. . . .

New York Times, Dec. 16, 1958, "Students Boycott Berlin Red's Talk," by Harry Gilroy

Berlin, Dec. 15 -- Prospective physicians at Humboldt University, in East Berlin, boycotted a lecture last night by a Communist leader.

Their absence was attributed to the attendance of workers from state industries.

This report today in Neues Deutschland, official newspaper of the Socialist Unity (Communist) party, confirmed an impression created by numerous previous incidents that antagonism to the Communist regime exists among the young people it has educated. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 20, 1956, "Students A Threat to Red Hierarchy,"
by J. Emlyn Williams

Bonn, Germany -- Communism's greatest opponents in Eastern Europe are not in the factories or workshops, but in the classrooms. They are the very students whom Communist regimes have been seeking to mold according to their own outmoded dogmas.

These words were used in a private conversation some years ago by a professor in an East German university to a small group, at a time when everybody was talking about the economic difficulties which would bring down those regimes.

Recent developments in East Germany and throughout the Eastern European bloc strongly support his view. It is not surprising, then, that the agenda scheduled for the meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party would mention "intensifying ideological education, especially of the younger generation, in classical Marxist-Leninism."

But failures in the past 10 years' effort suggest that more than an "intensification" will be required. The Communist hierarchy has lost touch with its youth. Discussions occur as to whether there should be Soviet Communism or national Communism. Actually, however, students are seeking a substitute for Communism, since this has made life duller, rather than fuller and freer, as promised.

This is illustrated by developments in East Germany, where the Communist regime has been greatly disturbed by demands of students of many universities for basic changes. These demands include establishment of a student organization independent of the Communist Free German Youth Movement and much more liberal curriculum studies.

Students are weary of instruction in "diamat, gewi, poloc," three abbreviations standing for dialectical materialism, elementary philosophy, and political economy on Marxist lines. Further, they demand better information through the press about developments in Poland and Hungary.

East Germany's Communist regime has replied with threats, expulsions from colleges, and breaking off of contacts between East German students with the Western world and with Poland, except such as are approved by the regime.

Unsuccessful attempts also have been made to bring students into contact with "party true" workers delegations--such as that from the state-owned Buna works near Leipzig. These latter particularly stress that the students are "privileged" individuals who have been permitted to study through special state financial aid.

What must irk the regime particularly is that these students are in the vast majority--not the sons of so-called capitalists, but of industrial workers and peasant farmers. They were hand-picked years ago for their proletarian background.

They are intended to become tomorrow's leaders of state and party. But they are attacking the regime at its most vulnerable points--rejecting the Politburo's basic conception that individual freedom is nonexistent where party interests are concerned.

These are the students who for years have been compelled to follow a strict system wherein the study of party dogmas is compulsory; and their free time has been organized and controlled by the official Communist Youth Organization. These same students today are warned that they are "in the wrong boat," and so on.

Only six years ago, one prominent Communist could say that reeducation of the older generation required patience, but "education of youth is relatively easy, since it lays less store by old customs and traditions."

Despite financial aid and other privileges, East German students, like so many others throughout the Soviet bloc, have rejected Soviet propaganda. The educational system, based upon fear and terror, hitherto has prevented youth from acting spontaneously. But the revolt against Stalinism offered the opportunity, reinforced by events in Poland and Hungary.

Hongkong Standard, Dec. 20, 1956, "Anti-Red Sentiment Spreading Among East German Farmers"

Berlin, Dec. 18 (UP) -- Anti-Communist sentiment was reported spreading today among farmers and students in East Germany. . . .

The new student unrest was reported at Halle, where students at the Martin Luther University hissed speakers who defended Communism at a rally there.

The hissing led to a demand by Kurt Hager, a secretary of the Communist Party,

that "provocative elements and spreaders of unrest who are led from the West" be expelled.

The Neues Deutschland reported that students hissed workers who rebuked them and said the students "want to take over blindly everything done in Poland."

Hongkong Standard, Dec. 24, 1956, "Student Rebels Expelled by German Reds"

Berlin, Dec. 23 (UP) -- East German Communists said today that student rebels at Leipzig's Karl Marx University had been expelled.

A Communist speaker at a university rally said "provocateurs in the medical school were isolated."

"Isolate" in Communist jargon when used in reference to students means to expel. . . .

New York Times, Dec. 30, 1956, "German Reds Set Student Purges," by Harry Gilroy

Berlin, Dec. 29 -- Students considered to be "disloyal to the workers' and peasants' power" face expulsion in large numbers from East German institutions of higher education. . . .

By Communist theory, free education at the hands of devoted Marxist professors should produce a new intelligentsia completely loyal to the regime. But since the beginning of the Soviet campaign to downgrade Stalin last spring students in East Germany have taken to questioning many state policies.

Quite a few have voiced disagreement with the East German position in regard to the Polish and Hungarian uprisings. Soviet military actions in Hungary have been criticized.

Communist leaders have tried to talk the questioners down, have reminded those receiving stipends that aid could be terminated and lately have taken to stern threats. Delegations of party workers have attended student meetings to back up the threats.

South China Morning Post, Dec. 31, 1956, "East German Youths Gaoled for Rioting"

Berlin, Dec. 28 -- An East Berlin court has sentenced eight teenagers to prison terms ranging between three and eight months for rioting and resistance against the state authority, the East German news agency, ADN, reported today.

"Education measures," including extra work after normal working time, were imposed on six other youths.

All 14, including six West Berliners, were arrested on December 8 when several hundred youths stoned the People's police and destroyed decorations at the East Berlin christmas Fair on the Marx-Engels Square.

South China Morning Post, Dec. 31, 1956, "Students Flee"

Berlin, Dec. 29 -- Fourteen out of 20 pupils of an East German high school class fled to West Berlin after being questioned and threatened for observing a minute's silence in sympathy with the Hungarian rebels, it was learned tonight.

The pupils, all aged about 18, arrived in small groups on Thursday from Storkow, about 30 miles from Berlin.

Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 25, 1957, "East Germans Set for Student Drive,"

by J. Emlyn Williams

Bonn, Germany -- Student resistance to the East German Communist regime continues so strong that the government in East Berlin has decided upon a new initiative in this ideological struggle, according to reliable reports.

Comparatively little has been heard about student resistance for some weeks past because there has been vacation. But this has only driven underground an opposition which the government does not minimize and which it intends to annihilate by public meetings and other measures with the opening of the new semester Jan.

29. . . .

An "unexampled cynicism" against party policy was reported. Students financially supported by the state were actually sarcastic about the party's achievements, many Communist local newspapers wrote.

Particularly, wrote the Neues Deutschland, students are showing "two faces"--a "progressive" one to authorities so as to get benefits and good reports--privately. an "individualistic and petty bourgeois" one inclined to capitalism. . . .

Hongkong Standard, Feb. 6, 1957, "Ulbricht Says Students' Plot to Overthrow Red Rule Foiled"

Berlin, Feb. 5 (UP) -- East German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht said in a speech released today the government had foiled a plot by the East Berlin University students to overthrow the Soviet Zone government in November.

Ulbricht told a Central Committee meeting that students at Humboldt University who sympathized with the Hungarian rebels planned "to go out into the streets" and begin "actions in Berlin."

He said only the vigilance of the Communist Party, the workers' militia and other para-military groups made the students and the counter-revolutionary groups drop their plans. . . .

Ulbricht gave no other details of the plot or the measures the Communists took to defeat it. However, it was known in November that the students planned a huge anti-government rally in Marx-Engels Platz, the former Lustgarten, just down the block from the university.

At that time the Communists marched their armed workers militia up and down the streets near the university in a warning to students.

The student anti-Communist movement began with demands for abolition of the compulsory study of Marxism and Russian, formation of non-Communist youth organizations and democratization of the government.

The students began to rally around Harich (32-year-old lecturer on Marxism who was arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the government) who said East Germany should abandon Stalinist controls and follow the lead of Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary. Similar unrest was reported at almost all Soviet Zone schools and colleges.

South China Morning Post, Feb. 11, 1957, "Students Purged"

Berlin, Feb. 8 (AP) -- Communist East Germany has begun a campaign to eliminate disloyal students from its universities.

The newspaper, Freiheit, said Communist youth leaders had asked the University of Halle to expel a student for having pro-Hungarian sympathies. He was also accused of siding with "international counter-revolutionaries."

The official East German news agency, ADN, said a student at Humboldt University has been expelled for "counter-revolutionary activities."

Hongkong Standard, May 15, 1957, "East Germans Put Students Through Mass Brainwashing"

Berlin, May 14 (AP) -- Communist East Germany is putting rebellious college students through a mass "brainwashing" in retaliation for the big anti-Red strike at East Berlin's Humboldt University.

Junge Welt, the Communist youth newspaper, admitted Tuesday that about 120 students comprising almost the entire third year of the veterinary school are barred from the campus as a result of the strike last week.

Hongkong Standard, May 16, 1957, "4 E. German Youths Nabbed for Ripping Red Flags on May Day"

Berlin, May 15 (UP) -- East German Communists today announced the arrest of four college students for tearing down red flags and other Communist banners on May Day.

The Communist youth organization newspaper Young World said the four teenagers were students at the College for Electrical Technology in the town of Ilmenau, southeast of Berlin.

The "All-German Student Affairs Association" at West Berlin's Free University yesterday reported the expulsion from Humboldt University of 13 students.

China Post, May 17, 1957, "E. Germany Says Uncovers Students Plot to Start Hungarian-Type Riot"

Berlin, May 16 (UP) -- The East German secret police announced today it smashed a plot of East Berlin university students to start a Hungarian-type revolt.

The "state security service" said the plot was uncovered at the Humboldt University, where students went on strike last week in protest against the forced flight to the West of the dean of the Veterinarian College. . . .

Secret police Colonel Emil Bormann said "the state security service and the workers frustrated the plot." . . .

Bormann gave students this warning: "the full severity of the law will be used against all students who fall into the trap of Western agents."

"We will counter those who try to disturb our socialist development," he added.

Bormann reported "unrest" among students not only in East Berlin but in Dresden, Leipzig, Rostock, Babelsberg and other Soviet zone cities. He blamed this on the Western allies. . . .

The New Leader, May 27, 1957, "Intellectual Ferment in East Germany," by Ranier Hildebrandt

Berlin -- It is axiomatic that the public recognizes revolutions only when they manifest themselves in barricades or strikes, columns of marchers or the shedding of blood. Yet, the events of the last six months in Germany's Soviet Zone show that a revolution is in full swing even though its scene is not the street or the factory and many of its leaders are in jail.

It started in September 1956, when the students of Humboldt University in

East Berlin, prompted by the example of the Hungarian students, demanding representation for themselves independently of the FDJ, the Communist youth organization. They did not succeed in this or in their demand for voluntary attendance at sociological lectures and Russian courses. But the discussions that resulted split the Party into two bitterly hostile camps.

Under the slogan "Sharpen the Weapons of the Mind," the students began to interpret Marxism in the Marxist manner and to refute Stalinism with the classics of socialism. Marx and Engels, they pointed out, stated that socialism would develop in each country according to its own economic, political and cultural laws. Thus, they raised the question of whether Soviet experience was relevant to German conditions. In a forum discussion at Leipzig University, 200 students cited Lenin as their authority for demanding that no state functionary receive a salary "exceeding that of a worker's wages."

Gerhart Eisler, who returned to Germany after emigrating to America and often leads discussion groups, was asked by students why East German toy shops sold People's Police tin soldiers whereas the West German Government vigorously opposed the sale of toy soldiers. When Eisler explained that the army of the German Democratic Republic was serving peace, his audience burst out laughing.

In Dresden, the students observed a minute of silence for the victims of the Hungarian struggle for liberation, and in East Berlin statements by Polish and Hungarian intellectuals were posted on bulletin boards. A glance at political books in the university library showed that passages refuting Stalinism were heavily marked and annotated.

Just as in Hungary, a few professors in East Germany formed the focus of intellectual discontent. In Berlin, it was Dr. Wolfgang Harich, a professor at the University and editor-in-chief of the Journal of Philosophy, who has since been arrested and sentenced to ten years at hard labor. In Leipzig, many students rallied around the student chaplain Schmutzler, who has also been arrested, and philosophy professor Ernst Bloch, who has lost his job. The public attacks on the professors ordered by Party boss Walter Ulbricht have merely served to make them even more popular among the students.

Chicago Daily Tribune, July 4, 1957, "Reds Limit East German Youth Travel"

Berlin, July 3 (Reuter) -- East German college students and high school pupils have been forbidden to travel to West Germany and other countries of the North

Atlantic Treaty Organization, unless they have obtained official permission. . . .

Young East Germans are being told that they should spend their summer vacations working in factories or on the land. . . .

Junge Welt, the newspaper of the Communist-run Free German Youth organization, revealed, however, that there was considerable opposition to the ban on unfettered travel to the West among young people in at least one school.

Reporting on the discussion at Oelsnitz High School on this topic, it commented: "One obviously provocative question put was: what happens if a friend goes to West Germany in spite of the resolution?

"This was clearly answered--whoever goes against the will of his organization places himself outside the community and cannot expect to enjoy the privileges of the community in future. The organization which he betrays will no longer tolerate him in its ranks." . . .

The Economist, July 6, 1957, "Herr Ulbricht's Students Revolt"

The ban on travel to Western Germany which the East German regime has slapped down on students and high school children is a blunt confession that it has failed in its efforts to control the political future through winning the allegiance of the young. The East German student, holidaying in the West, is now seen by his government not as a propagandist but as a potential rebel who must be kept under guard. And the sealing of the frontiers is only the most ugly blow in the systematic campaign that the regime has been waging for some months to crush its students' seething discontents by force. . . .

Seeking to break up groups of friends who might conspire, and to root out every nucleus of opposition, the regime has shifted large numbers of students from university to university--from Dresden to Leipzig, from Leipzig to Berlin. Security measures, the opening of mail, the infiltration of the student body, have been tightened up. And this summer a campaign of compulsion and harangues has sought to persuade students to substitute for their western holidays enthusiastic spells of labor in factories and mines. The aim is twofold--to provide the economy, now in desperate straits, with extra labor, and, even more, to keep the students under collective discipline and party influence. But the recruiting drive has been a miserable failure. Indeed, the whole clumsy attempt to bludgeon young East Germans into line has merely exacerbated the bitterness which has gripped the universities since the Hungarian rising.

Student opposition to Communism in Eastern Germany is, of course, not new. The East German student has been more exposed to the gaze and influence of the outside world than his fellows in the other satellite states; and, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the bitter hostility towards Russia and Communism of parents and teachers has insulated many children from indoctrination. The steady flow to Western Germany of youthful refugees bore witness until recently to a sturdy strain of opposition. . . .

Manchester Guardian, Aug. 1, 1957, "Bringing Students Into Line"

Bonn, July 31 -- Unrest in the universities and among intellectuals generally in East Germany still continues. Today the principal organ of the Socialist Unity party, Neues Deutschland, complained of "slandorous utterances against our Republic" at Leipzig University. Professors had failed to check such utterances and might even have encouraged them, it said. . . .

The simmering discontent among students and intellectuals has produced a larger than usual crop of political trials recently. Last week, for instance, four supporters of Professor Wolfgang Harich, who led last autumn's intellectual revolt after the Hungarian revolution, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment by the East German High Court. Seven other people were sentenced to imprisonment by courts in Chemnitz and Potsdam.

Washington Post and Times Herald, Nov. 15, 1957, "Red Students Ordered to Factories"

Berlin, Nov. 14 (UP) -- The Communist East German Government, in a move to combat youth unrest, today ordered students to spend a "practical year" working in factories before they enter the universities.

The plan became law with the publication of a new education order in the official East German legal bulletin.

The order said a year of work would "tie future students tighter to the working class and give them a feeling of responsibility for our workers' and farmers' state."

It warned the students would have to show "good workers' discipline and social attitude to prove they are worthy of studying" at the universities.

The official Communist Party newspaper Neues Deutschland today charged that teenagers were being used by West Germany in a "counter-revolutionary" movement.

It said the West Berlin city government was inciting Eastern youths "to disturb peace and quiet, intimidate honest citizens, destroy state-owned property and finally to get them to go over to open resistance against the state authority."

Disturbances caused by youths in East Berlin have been increasing sharply in recent weeks.

Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 7, 1958, "East German Pupils Restive"

Berlin (AP) -- Communist East Germany is reluctantly admitting that its university students are becoming more restless under Communist rule.

The admissions are being made in the official press, which is carrying guarded reports about disagreements between the students and their Communist masters.

One of the newspapers, the Forum, indicated the disagreements are becoming heated. Reporting on a medical students' meeting at East Berlin's university, the Forum said the meeting developed into "one of the most violent discussions in years." The discussion was sparked, the paper said, by an accusation that the students were failing to support Communism.

Another article in the Forum, which is the Communists' official student newspaper, said a meeting of Rostock University students became so heated that it lasted four hours without a break. The paper added this cryptic comment:

"Things were really happening."

The Rostock meeting involved four students who had secretly visited West Berlin for a quick look at Western ways of living. All four were eventually expelled from the university. The Forum said the situation at Rostock University has been getting worse since the 1956 Hungarian revolt, when a wave of unrest gripped East Germany.

Referring to the university's marine engineering school, the Forum said: "There, forces have been at work, especially since the developments in Hungary, . . . which opposed our state, insulted the party, sided completely with the counter-revolution in Hungary and drew the conclusion that the time has come to hang our Communists and carry on as in Hungary."

In its article about East Berlin's university, the Forum reported that only 2 per cent of the students heeded Communist demands that students pitch in last summer and help relieve a critical shortage of farm and coal mine labor.

Neues Deutschland, official Communist Party Organ, meanwhile acknowledged that the University of Jena is also in ferment. The paper published a faculty

declaration which promised that the professors would fight any anti-Communist tendencies cropping up among students.

Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 3, 1958, "Reds Jog Students"

Berlin (Reuters) -- Students in Communist East Germany soon may have to spend more spare time in farm and factory work, observers said Feb. 1.

This possibility was linked with a new propaganda campaign launched by East German Communists to convince young people in universities and technical colleges that their future is "socialist." . . .

Though the vast majority of East German students come from working-class and peasant families, the East German press has carried complaints that many of them lean toward intellectual individualism once they get to the university.

Communist newspapers have complained students are liable to "underestimate" the workers and farmers, become "arrogant" and be politically neutral.

Hongkong Standard, March 13, 1958, "Students Sacked for Wildness in E. Germany"

Berlin, March 16 (UP) --- An East German Communist paper today disclosed the expulsion of a number of students from East Berlin's College of Fine and Applied Arts . . .

In addition, all Western bars, cinemas and other entertainment spots were placed off limits to the entire student body.

The students were told they could no longer visit West Berlin for "Wild West times with taxi girls." The Communists said they could spend their time more profitably by working in factories.

The drastic disciplinary measures . . . were disclosed today by the Communist Party newspaper Neues Deutschland. . . .

New York Herald Tribune, April 30, 1958, "E. German Schoolmen Take Flight"

Berlin (AP) -- The stepped-up campaign to communize East German schools and universities has started a mass flight of scientists and teachers to the West.

More than sixty scientists--including university professors, lecturers and instructors--escaped to West Germany in the first 100 days of this year. There were about twenty-five in all of 1957.

Scientists and teachers in other fields now are seeking political asylum in West Berlin refugee centers at the rate of several a day.

The East German Stalinist regime set off the exodus by its sweeping efforts to purge Western influences from the educational system. Previously technical

schools were allowed to carry on pretty much in the traditional manner so long as they kept turning out trained manpower.

Many teachers have chosen to flee westward rather than bow to demands that they become Communists, abandon religious affiliations and pressure students into supporting the satellite regime. . . .

HUNGARY

HUNGARY

The Communist-led student demonstration which sparked the Hungarian uprising on October 23, came after three years of mounting crisis in universities throughout the country. It took place at a time when the regime had incurred not only the hatred of the people in general, but also the bitter antagonism of the minority of young people and intellectuals who, in principle, considered themselves Marxists. For almost a year before the demonstration, defiant Communist writers and students had spoken for the entire population in demanding a more liberal rule; and for almost a year, the Party had resisted these requests, repudiated its critics and made concessions grudgingly--giving ground only when it no longer could withstand popular pressure and was losing control.

For most of the Communist rank and file, Imre Nagy and his New Course program of 1953 had signified a welcome and badly-needed change from the Stalinist past. It meant an end to the abuses and injustices which had marred postwar years, and it afforded a chance of placing the economy on more solid foundations. It also meant to this Communist rank and file that the Party, thoroughly detested by the nation as a whole, would have the opportunity to win some measure of popular support by its program of political and economic concessions. Consequently, when Nagy was removed as Premier in the Spring of 1955 and Hungary's own dictator, Matyas Rakosi, once again took over the reins of power and embarked on a drive to liquidate symptoms of "nationalism" and "right-wing deviation," an internal revolt against the Party leadership began. . . .

All during this period, official spokesmen complained either about the political apathy of young people or their support of so-called hostile ideologies. On July 1, 1955, the educational review Kozneveles (Budapest) listed a number of "alarms attitudes" prevalent among high school and college students. . . . The Party's inability to attract young people was also indicated in a number of attacks on the survival and influence of religious education and on the growth of "confused anti-Marxist ideologies" in higher educational institutions. On October 4, 1955, Szabad Ifjusag revealed the serious extent of anti-Party ferment in universities when it reported that only about fifty percent of the students at the Budapest college of Liberal Arts had attended the prescribed courses in Marxism. (East Europe, January 1957, "Hungarian Youth in Revolt")

Background Material:

New York Times Magazine, December 22, 1956, "Youth vs. Communism: A Hungarian's Story," by Janos Hollo (Note: Hollo is a pseudonym used by a 29-year-old Hungarian who escaped to the West four weeks ago.)

Every nation's strength lies in its youth, the heir of its tradition and culture. The Communist rulers of Hungary know this. And so for ten years, by every possible means--in schools, factories and the daily press--they tried to remake the character of Hungarian youth in the mold of the New Soviet Man. Yet the young people of Hungary became the leaders and main supporters of the anti-Communist revolution and fighters for Hungarian national independence.

Why did Communist upbringing fail completely in Hungary; why did young men and women, graduates of Communist schools, rise against their own teachers at the first opportunity, and sacrifice their lives for freedom and democracy?

I myself am one of the young Hungarians who escaped to the free world . . .

I saw the rebellion taking shape in the months before it broke out because a friend at a technical university kept me posted on the students' constantly rising dissatisfaction.

On the evening of October 22 our student friends drafted the now-famous sixteen points, setting forth the demands of the Hungarian people in concrete form. The next day one student was sent to each large factory in Budapest to enlist the workers' support for a silent demonstration that afternoon. . . .

The spontaneous mass movement was only strengthened by the Government radio announcement that meetings were forbidden. Russian troops intervened at sunrise on October 24.

With my friends I took part every day in the demonstrations. . . . I am not a hero, because the individual heroes died and remained nameless. And no one knows where they are buried. The collective heroes were the unarmed masses who appeared everywhere on the streets when trouble started, and thus made Russian control impossible. I only did what I could for my country, as countless other young Hungarians did.

We young people comprised three main groups--students, workers and soldiers. It was of the utmost importance to our rulers that the political, cultural and economic leadership be taken over by a reliable, Sovietophile new generation. The old, and for the time being indispensable, professional men were totally

unreliable for the Communist system. With this in mind, the authorities modified the composition of the student bodies. In accordance with their dictatorship-of-the-proletariat ideology, they gave preference to children of industrial workers for college education, believing these people would be unconditionally true followers of the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

Among college students you could find some children of poor peasants or kolkhoz (collective farm) workers. But they were not numerous because the Communist Government always lacked confidence in the peasantry, particularly in peasants cultivating their own land, among whom the sanctity of private property was a tradition inherited by son from father. Children of parents who were prosperous farmers or merchants or in intellectual occupations could very seldom get to college at all. . . .

At entrance examinations grades were less important than a student's origin and political reliability. Therefore, many young persons had to falsify their personal data in order to be accepted. For instance, my cousin was disqualified from taking his last examination at the Agricultural University because it was discovered that his father had owned a tractor some time ago. One of my friends was excluded, for another example, because his father owned a tavern. Altogether, 80 to 90 per cent of Hungarian college and university students were children of laborers and landless peasants. . . .

With each of these groups, the Government's chief aim was to eliminate all the traditions and ambitions which stood in the way of imposing the Soviet system on Hungary. To do this, the authorities deprived the young people of their free time--that is, the time they could live their own, individual lives. They declared working days on the holidays we had always observed they prolonged the forty-eight-hour work-week by various pretexts for overtime. In the universities, after regular sessions, students had to attend afternoon and evening repetition lectures which had no practical use but to keep them under permanent control.

During the deprived free time, the teaching of Communist ideology went on. Each of us had to discuss politics, and anyone who was passive concerning political questions was gravely criticized. . . .

It goes almost without saying that the Communist tried to root out national and religious feelings from our hearts.

national and religious traditions went the praising of Soviet communism and the deification of the leaders of Soviet and Hungarian communism.

At the same time that the cult of personality was practiced, the Soviets expropriated the cultural and economic achievements of the world. Almost all inventions were attributed to Russian scientists. . . .

Along with the propagation of Soviet culture went attacks on the Western democracies way of life. . . .

The Communists tried to plant in young people's minds hate and distrust instead of love and humanism. The result was to teach us to take nothing at face value and to be on the alert always.

There were two courses open to parents. Either they watched helplessly the effects of the state-controlled up-bringing of their children, or--and this was more frequent--they tried to counterbalance it. In that case they further increased the doubts in the minds of their children, who were left to enter maturity without any reliable spiritual support.

Why, then, did the youth of Hungary rise to fight for freedom? For those who have lived in freedom through many generations it is not easy to understand that a dictatorship by its mere existence creates reactions, that under the seemingly calm surface forceful inner tensions are generated. This is particularly true in a dictatorship which robs people of their individual liberty without compensating them with temporary prosperity or changes which would make them forget the prevailing terror. The Communist dictatorship in Hungary perpetrated horrors reminiscent of the darkest Middle Ages. And it did not succeed in hiding its lies, its cruelties, its catastrophic economic difficulties behind its loud propaganda machinery.

The party line changed from year to year, sometimes from week to week, depending on which way the winds were blowing from Moscow. History books were constantly being corrected in front of the young students' eyes. Tito was glorified, then slandered, then glorified again by the same political leaders. . . .

Then, after a few years, they dug up their graves and reburied them with military honors. They gave land to the peasants, and later took it away from them. They deported people to far-away lands, then proclaimed deportation illegal. There were so many contradictions and lies that back issues of Szabad Nep,

the official daily organ of the Communist party, were withdrawn and access to them in state libraries was made impossible. The repeated changes in the party line provoked contempt in the people--first of all in the youth, whose minds reacted quickly. Only the people's hatred for the politicians was bigger than their ridicule of them.

There was neither legality nor security in the country. Anybody could be arrested or accused of anything, held prisoner or eliminated without trial. . .

On top of this misery, the Communists' efforts to suppress our national and religious traditions came as an insult. They tried to force the Russian language upon us, but the students refused to learn it. They dressed the Hungarian Army in Soviet uniforms, they forced us to observe the Soviet national holidays and in every walk of life they urged us to follow Soviet methods. During the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952, the Hungarian anthem was played more often than it had been on Radio Budapest during the previous four years.

This uncompromising struggle against national feeling provoked a strong reaction even in the ranks of faithful Communists.

The airtight sealing of our country's western frontiers had an astonishingly strong effect on youth. We could not see why a "superior" economic and cultural system should fear the Western world. . . .

After Stalin's death, the confusion and uncertainty in the leadership of the Soviet Union was felt in Hungary, too. The resultant loosening of the yoke let our suppressed complaints find expression.

Hungarian writers, who had been condemned to silence, started to put the rightful demands of the people into words. Newspapers and other publications which printed their criticisms sold out in no time. College students, who knew the sufferings of the people at first hand, took up the cry, not asking for "national communism" (Titoism) but demanding complete sovereignty and political democracy.

Since the imperialistic Soviet system had brought about the same condition in each satellite country, why was it in Poland and Hungary that the failure of the Soviet "up-bringing" became apparent? Why was it the Hungarian youths who took up arms against their oppressors? The answer is clear. The Hungarian and Polish people had a glorious national tradition which was able to inspire the youth of the nation at the right historical moment.

It is tragic that the Hungarian fight for freedom was defeated by the brutal force of Soviet arms. In this struggle the most precious part of Hungarian youth was annihilated, deported or scattered throughout the world. But the resistance of the suppressed has not ended. Despotism in Hungary is meeting resistance never experienced before.

One thing is certain: The Soviet methods of indoctrinating a generation have been proved a failure in Hungary. The Soviet system can be maintained only by Russian armed might. The power of any Communist Government is only illusory. The question is whether the Kremlin can dare to release Hungary from the Soviet orbit, because this would necessarily mean releasing other satellite countries. Moscow's alternative is to employ the cruelest Stalinist methods. In that case, there will be an extermination of a people before the eyes of the Western world-- because the Hungarian people, who for four days breathed the intoxicating air of freedom, will not resign themselves to despotism again.

United Nations: Report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, 1957 (References are to the numbered paragraphs of the report; underscoring added).

392. "We wanted freedom and not a good comfortable life," an eighteen year-old girl student told the Committee. "Even though we might lack bread and other necessities of life, we wanted freedom. We, the young people, were particularly hampered because we were brought up amidst lies. We continually had to lie. We could not have a healthy idea, because everything was choked in us. We wanted freedom of thought . . . "

393. It seemed to the Committee that this young student's words expressed as concisely as any the ideal which made possible a great uprising. . . .

397. The grievances which lay behind this national movement were at first expressed by intellectuals and students . . . The students thus became, with the writers, a mouthpiece for the Hungarian people as a whole. . . .

398. The influence of the students immediately before the uprising helped to give it an emphasis on youth which was to remain characteristic of it. When the phase of protest meetings and street demonstrations changed into that of actual fighting, it was still the younger generation . . . who played the most prominent part

401. Nowhere can the aims of the Hungarian uprising be so clearly seen as in the various resolutions and manifestos which appeared on the eve of that up-

rising and as long as it lasted. The most important of these were issued by student and intellectual groups before the outbreak of hostilities

404. The texts . . .

Students of Budapest!

The following resolution was born on 22 October 1956, at the dawn of a new period in Hungarian history. . . as a result of the spontaneous movement of several thousand of the Hungarian youth who love their Fatherland:

1. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Treaty.
2. We demand the election of new leaders in the Hungarian Workers' Party on the low, medium and high levels by secret ballot from the ranks upwards. . . .
3. The Government should be reconstituted under the leadership of Comrade Imre Nagy; all criminal leaders of the Stalinist-Rakosi era should be relieved of their posts at once.
4. We demand a public trial in the criminal case of Mihaly Farkas and his accomplices. Matyas Rakosi, who is primarily responsible for all the crimes of the recent past and for the ruin of this country, should be brought home and brought before a People's Court of Judgment.
5. We demand general elections in this country, with universal suffrage, secret ballot and the participation of several Parties for the purpose of electing a new National Assembly. We demand that the workers should have the right to strike.
6. We demand a re-examination and re-adjustment of Hungarian - Soviet and Hungarian-Yugoslav political, economic and intellectual relations on the basis of complete political and economic equality and of non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.
7. We demand the re-organization of the entire economic life of Hungary, with the assistance of specialists. Our whole economic system based on planned economy should be re-examined with an eye to Hungarian conditions and to the vital interests of the Hungarian people.
8. Our foreign trade agreements and the real figures in respect of reparations that can never be paid should be made public. We demand frank and sincere information concerning the country's uranium deposits, their exploitation and the Russian concession. We demand that Hungary should have the right to sell the uranium ore freely on the world market in exchange for hard currency.

9. We demand the complete revision of norms in industry and an urgent and radical adjustment of wages to meet the demands of workers and intellectuals.

We demand that minimum living wages for workers should be fixed.

10. We demand that the delivery system should be placed on a new basis and that produce should be used rationally. We demand equal treatment of peasants farming individually.

11. We demand the re-examination of all political and economic trials by independent courts and the release and rehabilitation of innocent persons. We demand the immediate repatriation of prisoners of war and of civilians deported to the Soviet Union, including prisoners who have been condemned beyond the frontiers of Hungary.

12. We demand complete freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of the Press and a free Radio, as well as a new daily newspaper of large circulation for THE MEFESZ (League of Hungarian University and College Student Associations) organization. We demand that the existing 'screening material' should be made public and destroyed.

13. We demand that the Stalin statue--the symbol of Stalinist tyranny and political oppression--should be removed as quickly as possible and that a memorial worthy of the freedom fighters and martyrs of 1848-49 should be erected on its site.

14. In place of the existing coat of arms, which is foreign to the Hungarian people, we wish the re-introduction of the old Hungarian Kossuth arms. We demand for the Hungarian Army new uniforms worthy of our national traditions. We demand that 15 March should be a national holiday and a non-working day and that 6 October should be a day of national mourning and a school holiday.

15. The youth of the Technological University of Budapest unanimously express their complete solidarity with the Polish and Warsaw workers and youth in connection with the Polish national independence movement.

16. The students of the Building Industry Technological University will organize local units of MEFESZ as quickly as possible, and have resolved to convene a Youth Parliament in Budapest for the 27th of this month (Saturday) at which the entire youth of this country will be represented by their delegates. . . .

443. . . . The students who improvised this document on a piece of paper torn out of a student's notebook, came largely from working-class or peasant homes;

many of them were members of the Communist Party, and the demands were formulated and adopted at a meeting convened by the communist youth organization itself. . .

460. . . . the students' sixteen points were received with great enthusiasm

. . . .

468. . . . a group of students decided once more to demand the broadcasting of their points, and a large crowd proceeded to the Radio Building The crowd consisted mostly of young people . . . No one bore arms . . . The demand . . . was refused

469. The radio building was guarded by the AVH (state security) police . . . Shortly after 9 p.m. tear gas bombs were thrown from the upper floors. One or two minutes later, AVH men rushed from the entrance and began shooting in all directions

478. The witnesses maintained that, without the intervention of the Soviet troops, there would have been order in the city in a day or two, since only the AVH were firing on the crowds, and many members of the army and the police supported the uprising. There seems, in fact, not to be a single report of any member of the Hungarian military forces or of the ordinary police opening fire on the people.

479. The first Soviet tank patrol was seen in the city at 2:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 24 October. On the same day, fierce fighting developed between the Soviet troops and the revolutionaries, supported by part of the regular Hungarian Army. . . .

480. The population became increasingly embittered against the Russians, particularly because several incidents were reported of Russian tanks opening fire without provocation on unarmed crowds. . . .

609. . . . There is evidence that on numerous occasions truckloads of men and women were driven to jail under Soviet armed guard, and were kept in prison under the supervision of Soviet personnel. . . .

610. The use of repression by the Soviet Military Command as a method of establishing . . . order . . .

616. . . . the mopping up operations of the Soviet troops at the end of the fighting became an organized system of armed repression. . . .

702. After the Revolution, the League of Hungarian University and College Students Assoc-

dent line, was strongly attacked by the official press for its attitude during the October events. Attempts were made to neutralize the organization's independence, to intimidate the students by arresting them temporarily and to obtain control of the organization by infiltration. In spite of this . . . the students . . . were loyal to the Revolutionary ideals of the university students of 23 October . . .

707. There is evidence that the Government is not satisfied with the attitude of the young people of Hungary

708. Representative government does not exist for the time being in Hungary.

. . .

New York Times, January 13, 1957, "Budapest Blocking Student Meetings," by John MacCormac

Budapest, Hungary, January 12 -- The Government used its police powers today to prevent Hungarian university students from meeting.

The Communist party newspaper Nepszabadsag said a scheduled meeting had been "postponed for technical reasons."

Eight student leaders were reported to have been arrested in a raid yesterday on the headquarters of Mefesz, the organization of university youth that succeeded the official Communist youth association Disz in the early days of the revolt.

Mefesz had called a meeting last Saturday of delegates from all Hungarian universities and high schools. That session adopted a resolution re-endorsing the program urged by university youths in Budapest October 23

Hongkong Standard, February 5, 1957, "Budapest Bares New Arrests of Students"

Budapest, February 3 (AP) -- Communist Hungary announced new arrests of students Sunday on the eve of reopening Budapest University, where the October revolt against Russia began.

It looked as if the regime which the Russians imposed on Hungary was afraid that trouble might start again.

No figure was given on the number in prison. The latest group is accused of taking part in "illegal counter-revolutionary organizations and crimes against the state." Police said a search in university dormitories brought to light tommyguns, pistols and ammunition as well as "counter-revolutionary leaflets, press material, records and looted property."

"Several students were arrested," the announcement said. It added that the investigation is continuing "on the basis of the testimony of those detained."

In recent days there have been at least two other announcements of police searches for arms in the university building.

Five other arrests of "counter - revolutionaries" were disclosed from other parts of Hungary. . . .

The arrests were accompanied by series of warnings to the students against trying any political demonstrations with the threat that the university may be closed again. It was a students' demonstration on October 23 that began the fight in Budapest.

Former Foreign Minister Gyula Kallai, now an important leader of the Communist Party, told a meeting of professors Saturday at the medical school:

"I can assure those who were only drawn into the fighting that nothing will happen to them. But at the same time the government will energetically and ruthlessly repulse all attempts to disturb public order which is now being consolidated."

If there is more trouble, he said, scholarships may be withdrawn, individual students expelled or the whole university shut down.

Christian Science Monitor, March 27, 1957, "Where the Communists Failed"

Paris -- A tall, dark, slim Hungarian in his early 30's, with long sensitive fingers and a smile which can only be described as "tender," was chatting with me before a press conference of the Hungarian Revolutionary Committee being held here. On his slight shoulders had rested most of the work of organizing this council.

He was Arpad Taksanyi, a former secretary of the Hungarian Parliament and member of the executive council of the Christian Democratic Party. . . .

"Cutting through all the other important gains," I said, "it seems to me the most significant single fact, because of its long-range implication, was the way your revolution showed up the failure of the Communist indoctrination of youth. The old idea of 'give me a child from 8 to 14 and I'll have him the rest of his life' just did not hold water. Western fears that a new kind of 'Communist man' was being produced to try and rule the world were completely refuted. Why, it was the young Hungarians who led the outbreak."

"That's right," replied Mr. Taksanyi, "and the revolution would not have caught the Communists by surprise if they were not so self-blinded and bull-headed. Do you know that in both 1954 and 1955 in the special school for hand-picked youngsters--all children of only the purest Communist leaders -- a counter-Communist organization became so strong the authorities had to crack down hard on it?". . . It was the first sign of the resistance our revolution brought out into the open, the resistance of youth which is now building up not only in the other satellites but even in Russia itself. It showed something was very wrong in the whole basic Communist idea, and its education and propaganda techniques." . . .

New York Times, October 8, 1957, "Budapest Youths Found Apathetic," by Harrison E. Salisbury

Budapest, Hungary, October 3 -- The youths who sparked Hungary's revolt last October have largely turned their backs on politics and sullenly resumed their studies.

There is no sign that sparks of rebellion are still smoldering in Budapest University. Student revolutionary circles have been suppressed and the leaders jailed, and a mixture of threat and cajolery is being applied to keep the students in line.

Leading party spokesmen harangue the students frequently, reminding them that there are 15,000 would-be students ready to fill their places if they do not behave. The conditions of student stipends have been made much more strict. Students must study hard or risk having their state subsidies reduced.

As far as can be judged from scattered conversations, the regime's efforts to make the students toe the line have been largely successful.

In place of the intellectual ferment of a year ago, the university today is a cowed and sullen institution. Youths apply themselves to their studies. At night some of them can be seen, along with youngsters from the factories, in the Budapest cafes and cabarets, drinking steadily and listening to the incessant blare of rock 'n' roll.

As far as politics is concerned, the students appear to be apathetic.

The Government denies insistently that any students were executed for their role in the revolt last year. The official version is that fewer than 100 university students have been sentenced or are still held on serious charges. There is no way of checking this.

The Hungarian press has reported that 107 death sentences have been ordered in connection with the revolt and that forty-seven persons have been executed. None of those publicly announced as executed have been positively identified as university students, although several persons connected with the university have been executed.

Washington Post and Times Herald, November 20, 1957, "Hungarians Balk Marx Courses"

Vienna, November 19 (AP) -- The Hungarian Communist Party newspaper said today some Budapest University students are boycotting political lectures in a silent war against forced indoctrination.

Nepszabadsag charged that "misled and misguided elements" in the philosophical and electrical colleges had led boycotts against courses in Marxism-Leninism and that instruction is sometimes interrupted by impertinent and brash behavior.

China Post, March 6, 1958, "Hungarian Students Boycott Communist Youth".

Vienna, March 5 (UP) -- Hungarian University students are still opposing the Hungarian Communist regime and boycotting the Communist youth organization.

The Hungarian Communist youth weekly Magyar Ifjusag complained today that "counter-revolutionary elements are tearing down posters of the Communist youth organization in the law faculty of the universities.

The newspaper said that "only one-fifth of the university students are members of the Communist youth organization."

Magyar Ifjusag said that "some students in the law faculty's students hotel openly incite their fellow-students against the Communist regime."

It demanded the expulsion of all anti-Communist students from the law faculty of the Budapest University.

Hongkong Standard, July 11, 1958, "Hungary Starts Purge at Universities of Anti-Red Elements"

Vienna, July 9 (UPI) -- Hungary's Communist government has started a purge of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist elements at universities, reliable sources said here today.

Reports received from Budapest said during the past weeks university professors, scientific personnel and students were interrogated by party functionaries and secret police agents.

They said suspected members of the universities were questioned about the role they played during the 1956 revolution and their present attitude toward the party.

The sources said the investigation was opened shortly after an attack on the present political situation at the universities in the party political magazine Belpolitikai elet.

The article was tantamount to a confession by the Hungarian regime that the government has failed in its efforts to change the hostile attitude of the students toward Communism.

The monthly magazine is published for internal party and government information.

The article said that only 15 per cent of the university students are members of the Kisz, the Communist youth organization.

The author claimed that the most prevalent deviations from the party line observed at the universities is "anti-Sovietism and nationalism." The students, it stated, are still under the impact of the nationalist ideological slogan of a "third road to socialism."

POLAND

POLAND

The Communist program of winning over the youth of the countries they control is undoubtedly more vital to the regimes in the long run than any other aspect of their rule. It is particularly important in a country like Poland, Western in tradition, Catholic in religion, nationalist in outlook, historically conditioned to stubborn sacrifice in opposition. The Communists knew when they took over the country that the majority of the population was opposed to their rule; the best they could hope for was that, through indoctrination of the coming generations, the future would be theirs. Now, after a decade of power, the Communists seem to be in a weaker position than they were at the end of World War II: through the long years of Stalinism, the original opposition of the people grew stronger rather than weaker, and power was maintained mainly through the exertions of a hard core of fanatics backed up by the might of the Soviet armies; recently, however, even this hard core has shown signs of disintegration, and the signs have been most dramatic among young Communist intellectuals. . . . ("Youth in Ferment I: A Survey of Current Problems in Poland," News From Behind the Iron Curtain, October 1956.)

Background Material:

News From Behind the Iron Curtain, October 1956, "Youth in Ferment I: A Survey of Current Problems in Poland"

To many Communist students and young intellectuals, the torment of criticism released by the year-old "thaw" brought dismay and shocked disillusionment. Much of what they had been taught to believe in--and had indeed often come to accept despite inner doubts and the evidence that surrounded them--was suddenly condemned or denied, not by misguided "bourgeois" critics, but by the Party leaders themselves. The carefully erected pyramid of absolutes, constructed by their elders to dazzle them into awe and respect, crumbled before their eyes. In the midst of the resultant chaos, in which their teachers found it difficult to find their own way, the young Communist intellectuals succumbed to fear and despair; they no longer knew whom to trust or what to believe.

In broad outline, therefore, the picture is now one of outright hostility on the part of the huge majority of Polish youngsters, and of disturbed dedication on the part of a tiny minority of young intellectuals who belong to the Communist-dominated youth movement (ZMP), write letters to the Communist-directed youth papers

(such as Poprostu), and generally are in the forefront of national activities. . . .

In an explosion such as occurred at Poznan, the hatred of some, the cynicism and disillusionment of others, and the impatience of yet another group, all mingled on a common platform of opposition: throughout the demonstrations, youth took a prominent part, and even young Communists rose against the regime. . . .

Many of these formerly dedicated Communist youngsters, while still dedicated and still Communists, have been propelled into an unfamiliar new world. They are no longer told what to do in the simple language of order and exhortation. Their reaction has been twofold: some have lapsed into "passivity"--they have stood pat and kept silent--while others have thrown themselves headlong into the current wave of criticism, often outdoing their elders in their probing of current reality. The Party has reacted with exasperation to both stands, but without much success. At present, therefore, there is a real crisis among young Communist intellectuals: they are a bewildered, isolated minority, irreplaceable, yet the only hope for a Communist future; much of what they have learned they will have to unlearn, and the process is bound to be arduous and painful and it will take years to accomplish.

The young Communists' anguished reappraisal of their own position and their often savage, impertinent questioning of their elders was mirrored in Poprostu, a Warsaw weekly organ of "students and young intellectuals." By printing some of the liveliest and most penetrating commentaries on Polish reality, this paper has come to occupy a unique place in the "unofficial" campaign for liberalization and, though it seems to have come under closer Party scrutiny in recent weeks, it continues to be the most outspoken paper in the entire orbit. Its influence was described as follows by Radio Warsaw commentator Osmanczyk in Nowa Kultura of April 18: "Today, anybody in Poland who wants to form his own opinions and who wishes to see the world in a new light should not only study the Twentieth Congress but also Poprostu." . . .

Because of its outspoken views, Poprostu has won enemies as well as friends and the Party has cautioned the paper not to forget its proper role. Trybuna Ludu delivered a mild warning on March 22, when it commended Poprostu for its witty, aggressive style, but suggested that its task was not merely to stimulate public controversy and to stimulate young intellectuals, but also to lead popular opinion along acceptable lines. . . .

New York Times, May 11, 1956, "Youth's Dilemma in Poland Is Told," By Sydney Gruson

Warsaw, May 10 - The people of Poland are talking again and none with more effectiveness than the nation's youth.

They have had silence or conformity imposed on them for nearly eight years. A steam valve has been opened recently.

What has come out from the youth is eloquent, touching and accusing, a measure of bitterness and cynicism of a new generation in Poland that considers itself lost.

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New York Times, Oct. 21, 1956, "Anti-Soviet Move Grows in Poland," by Henry Giniger

Warsaw, Oct. 20 - Political agitation continued to spread among youths and workers in many parts of Poland today. It grew as sketchy news was put out of the momentous meeting yesterday between Polish and Soviet leaders.

The agitation was at once nationalist, anti-Russian and liberal. . . .

In the heart of residential Warsaw, the Polytechnic Institute became the focal point of student agitation. An enthusiastic rally last night of about 5,000 young persons was followed by an even bigger one today. Schools and factories in other cities were also meeting places for the hundreds of thousands who had discontent to express. . . .

In keeping with general appearances, the agitation among the students, at least in Warsaw, was not of the tempestuous kind.

The students said they were aware that "a provocation might play into the hands of the Stalinists" and assured the Polish party leadership that at any moment they were "on any call." The resolution said the leaders could rely on the full participation of all Warsaw students and workers "in the defense of Socialist democracy, the principle of equality between nations and an independent choice for each nation in its way to socialism."

It called for "the principle of openness in political life, workers' self-government and other steps leading to the removal of Stalinism from the economic and political life of our country."

The resolution was reported to have been printed on handbills for distribution this morning, but they were said to have been seized. However, typewritten copies found their way to school bulletin boards. Last night, the resolution was found in the hands of a student.

found their way to school bulletin boards. Large groups of students in the courtyard of Warsaw University crowded around their board to copy the text into notebooks. . . .

Hongkong Standard, Dec. 12, 1956, "Poles, Reds Clash in Anti-Soviet Demonstrations"

Warsaw, Dec. 11 (UP) - Hundreds of students clashed with police and troops in anti-Soviet demonstrations last night in the West Polish city of Stettin, Radio Warsaw said today.

The youths overturned streetcars and barricades and beat off workers' militia units called out to quell the riots.

Army troops were finally sent into the street battle to put down the demonstration, the Radio Warsaw broadcasts said. The demonstrators also smashed windows in the Soviet Consulate and tried to force their way into the building.

The number of injured was not disclosed.

Warsaw Radio said that streetcars were held up and windows broken. It said that "to the accompaniment of drunken singing and provocative shouts, efforts were made to organize a demonstration."

Radio Warsaw first described the riots as the work of "hooligans" who "attacked police and shouted provocative slogans" when police attempted to arrest a drunken teen-ager.

But a later Radio Warsaw broadcast admitted the street scrap reached the dimensions of a "mass demonstration" against the Soviet Union.

It said "a group of demonstrators demolished the windows of the Soviet Consulate in downtown Stettin and tried to force their way in."

Several hundred youths had marched through the main street of the town shouting anti-Communist slogans.

When the police were unable to handle the crowd, workers militia units from nearby shipyards were called out and "serious clashes" exploded.

The demonstrators pushed streetcars on their sides--as the Hungarian freedom-fighters of Budapest had done--and fought from behind them.

The tough shipyard workers found themselves beaten off and the authorities called out military units, the broadcast said.

New York Times, Dec. 19, 1956, "Warsaw Students Assail 'Reds' Rules for National Vote," by Sydney Gruson

Warsaw, Dec. 11 (UP) - A rioting of Warsaw students tonight raised the threat of a

boycott of Poland's parliamentary elections scheduled for Jan. 20.

About 2,000 students gathered in the auditorium of the Poly-technical School to voice bitter protest over the secret methods used to choose candidates for the National Front list to be presented to the voters. . . .

Speaker after speaker at the students' meeting criticized the party. They charged that candidates had been "imposed," that persons with no popular support had been selected, and that the way was being prepared for election results to meet the party's dictates rather than the nation's will.

A roar of support greeted the contention of one speaker that the election preparations hardly varied from those during the last ten years when the Communists gave the people no voice at all in the selection of Parliament.

Students were asked to agitate throughout Poland during the year-end holidays ~~against~~ acceptance of the list prepared by a coordinating committee of the three political parties and mass organizations grouped in the National Front.

The students were reminded that the electoral law specified that a candidate had to receive 50 per cent of the votes cast to be elected. They were told to vote only for candidates in whom they had confidence and if necessary leave vacant many of the 459 seats at stake in the elections. This would force new elections and presumably new candidates for the unfilled seats. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 31, 1957, "State of the Nations: Poland -- Under Gomulka--," by Joseph C. Harsch

"Are there any questions you would like to ask me?" I said to the English class at the university here after. . . . I had congratulated the students on their proficiency in English after only three months of study.

Instantly the whole class formed a semicircle around me and started bombarding me with questions.

"How far is it from New York to Chicago?" "What is the price of a round-trip ticket from New York to San Francisco?" "Is it cheaper by air or by rail?" "How can I get to the United States?"

These are the students in whom there are supposed to be "dangerous revolutionary tendencies," according to the Communist I had lunched with the previous day.

I could not detect a single political overtone in anything they said. They were students. They were learning the English language and its literature. They

were extremely good at it considering that they had only started their studies three months before. They could understand my English and I theirs.

Their questions showed a vivid interest in ways and means of visiting the United States. They wanted to know whether there was any chance for the establishment of student exchange between their country and the United States. They wanted to know why such exchanges do not exist. When I suggested that perhaps changing political conditions might make it possible some day they indicated a vigorous hope that this would be the case. . . .

The conclusion would certainly be justified by their questions and their manner that communism has rolled off them like the proverbial water off a duck's back. If communism had touched them they would be suspicious, belligerent, argumentative, or defiant in talking to an American. They were not.

Of course there is a "dangerous revolutionary tendency" in this relaxed attitude by Polish students toward an American. Communism has been preaching itself to these children since they were born, and they are untouched by it!

They don't even pay communism the compliment of speaking against it. That, at least, would give it a negative identity and force. Their attitude is even more devastating. Communism has become a meaningless nothing, not even worth talking about.

Milovan Djilas startled many people last fall when he wrote that contemporary communism was withering away. In Poland it isn't withering away. It has ceased to exist as a mental moving force. It just isn't there any more at all.

Nothing is left except a residual Communist Party of men whose lives, privileges and positions are at stake.

To come to Poland is to discover almost immediately that there is nothing left of communism here except a bureaucracy which clings to power for reasons having nothing to do with the ideas which live in men's minds.

Washington Evening Star, July 28, 1957, "Polish Students Show Open-Mindedness," by Richard Fryklund

Warsaw, Poland - Stanislaw Ptak, a senior at the University of Warsaw, perched on his cot in the student dormitory and explained his political philosophy.

Like the other students who joined the bull-session in this tiny room, Stanislaw was a product of 18 years of chaos and Communism in Poland. At 24 he could

remember nothing significant of old Poland. His mind had been nurtured by war, brutality and Communist philosophy.

"I'm a communist," he said, "but not a member of the party. I believe there must be a Marxist and democratic solution to Poland's problems."

What kind of government would you like to see?

"Poland should have a parliamentary democracy. The Communists would be the leading party, and not only the Communists but the other parties, too, should reflect accurately the will of the people."

Can you be sure they would reflect the will of the people?

"Of course we know it's possible for even the Communists to act contrary to the popular will. It happened here in Poland during the Stalinist days. And in Russia now you find a government by a small dictatorial clique, not a true dictatorship of the proletariat acting in the interests of the people."

"But if the Party is run democratically and if all decisions are made in the open after public discussion then it will accurately reflect the will of the people." . . .

But just supposing there were a substantial group of people in Poland who were democratic and progressive, but who were not Marxists. Should they be represented in parliament?

"Well, yes, If there were such people I guess they should have their own party and elect people to the parliament if they could." . . .

Stanislaw's friends agreed with him. . . .

One should remember that all the young people in the room had known no decent government in their lives, and their parents (with the possible exception of the one "intellectual") had no doubt seen nothing good about the prewar "democratic" government---which was an authoritarian army regime. The students in other words, have not seen real democracy or heard impartial accounts of democratic theory and practice.

Yet, the students showed considerable open-mindedness.

Their remarks about opposition parties and borrowing from capitalism showed independent, liberal thought.

They still are confused by the Communist dogma that the party can in fact represent the wishes of all the people and that all people in a Communist society think alike. But when it gradually is demonstrated to them that everyone in Poland

does not think alike, then these young people will be ready to give the dissenters a fair voice in the government.

This is contrary to Communist principles even in liberal Poland. The Party here insists there never can be an opposition party.

The Communists say also that Poland must retain a Marxist-Socialist economy. The students, however, are quite willing to adopt anything capitalistic that works.

Students took an active part in Poland's recent revolution, and they doubtless are Poland's leaders of the near future. Poland lacks leaders who are in their 40s and 50s. They were killed by Germans and Russians. So there is a crying need for talent which these young people will supply.

The Polish youth may be Marxists today, but if the Communist Party does not supply a brand of Marxism that works--that is truly democratic and economically effective--then these people will be ready to try something different.

Unless Poland reverses the direction of its new experiment, it is hard to see how the students can help but grow more liberal. Their university is leading the way.

In the past year Warsaw University has announced great basic changes in its curriculum, and university officials say there will be even greater changes in the coming school year. . . .

"Students can choose their classes and professors freely, and the university is nearly independent from the Ministry of Higher Education.

"The emphasis used to be on Marxism throughout the university. Now it is broader. And even more basic changes will come in October." . . .

Students now are admitted to the university strictly on the basis of scholarship. Political requirements and quotas against children of the intellectual class have been abolished. . . .

If good Communist-oriented material like Stanislaw can go through a Communist school system and still come out with an inquiring, open mind, then it would seem that Soviet efforts to mold a new type of man are doomed to failure. It certainly will be doomed in Poland, anyhow, if Stanislaw and his friends have even a little freedom of thought and activity.

Hongkong Standard, Oct. 4, 1957, "Polish Reds Close Student Paper"

Warsaw, Oct. 3 (AP) - The Polish Communist Party abolished the student anti-Communist weekly Poprostu Wednesday.

The paper, credited with paving the way for Wladyslaw Gomulka's return to power in the party, had not appeared since July. It was shut down for a two-month summer vacation and censors prevented its fall issues from appearing last month.

The paper made its reputation by outspoken criticism of Stalinism but Gomulka last month in a speech called it counter-revolutionary.

Although no reason for closing down the paper was made public, it was reported the official view was that the paper was too pessimistic and thus weakened confidence in Communist leadership.

New York Times, Oct. 4, 1957, "Polish Police Use Gas on Students," by Sydney Gruson

Warsaw, Oct. 3 - The police used tear gas and truncheons tonight to break up a demonstration by students against the closing of the weekly newspaper Po Prostu.

The Warsaw radio. . . said the disturbances had been caused "by a group of youngsters and hooligan elements" and that the police had arrested "some of the most aggressive individuals."

The radio gave no reason for the demonstration and no details of measures taken by the police.

A later broadcast spoke of "brawling students and youngsters" but did not mention hooligans. The broadcast said students had tried to organize a demonstration and had shouted anti-state slogans. . . .

Both broadcasts warned that disciplinary measures, including expulsion from school, would be taken against the leaders of the demonstrations. . . .

About 2,000 students and 200 to 300 policemen were involved in the demonstration the first of its kind in Warsaw since last October's political upheaval restored Wladyslaw Gomulka as First Secretary of the ruling Polish United Workers (Communist) party.

M. Gomulka himself is believed to have decided to liquidate the newspaper, which played an outstanding role in last year's events. Officials of the party's press bureau passed on the decision to Po Prostu's editor only yesterday.

Their explanation to the youngsters who had made Po Prostu a beacon in the struggle for freedom in Poland was that the paper's policy disagreed with the party line. M. Gomulka accused it recently of blackening the Communists' achievements here. . . .

Posters advertising the demonstration were put up in the name of the Socialist Youth Organization in all Warsaw schools this morning.

The students first milled aimlessly around the halls of the hostel. A youth official got up on a chair to address the crowd:

"Comrades * * *"

"Students, not Comrades," youngsters shouted back. . . .

Chicago Tribune, Oct. 5, 1957, "Police Fight Thousands at Party Office," by Don Dallas

Warsaw, Oct. 4 (Reuters) -- Warsaw policemen and militiamen battled demonstrators in fresh rioting tonight.

Citizens who marched to the eight-story headquarters building of the Communist party tore stones from buildings and hurled them at policemen. The police force retaliated with tear gas bombs and charged the rioters with clubs. . . .

Demonstrators chanted "gestapo" and "Ro Prostu," the latter protest against the closing of the student newspaper Po Prostu and a call for freedom of the press.

After an unprecedented march on the party headquarters, crowds had gathered around the eight story building, which is occupied by the central committee of the party. Wladyslaw Gomulka, the communist leader, has his offices there. They shouted "Release the students." . . .

A student protest meeting, advertised under the slogan "We want freedom of the press", had been called for 6 p.m. at the Polytechnic school. At 6:02 p.m. the militia forces lined up in double file, advanced on a square, and charged the crowd, estimated at 2,000, amid shouts of "fascists" and "swine." . . .

A big banner appeared outside the hostel: "Away with the gestapo; freedom of the press", it said.

The student demands, which were posted, included the continued publication of Po Prostu, an end to "Gestapo methods" by the police, release of all students, and public information on who called upon police to intervene in Thursday night's demonstration. . . .

Hongkong Standard, Oct. 7, 1957, "Militia Men Stoned by Various Mobs at Warsaw Rioting," by Colin Frost

Warsaw, Oct. 6, (AP) - The arrest of 150 persons described by police as "hooligans" was reported Sunday after Saturday night's four-hour riots. . . .

The riot was the third on successive nights. The trouble started on Thursday evening after the militia broke up an orderly student protest against the banning of the newspaper Po Prosto.

Polytechnic college students were told that their class rooms and laboratories had been closed until further notice. The announcement. . . . warned that any further protest would bring dismissals of all 6,000 students attending the school.

Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 9, 1957, "Polish 'Revolt' Subsides"

Warsaw, Oct. 8 (Reuter) - The restive students of Warsaw Polytechnic, which has been closed since Oct. 4 following a student "revolt" and rioting in the streets, went back to school Oct. 9

Observer said it appeared the authorities now had the upper hand and that the student "revolt" was over. They added that the students had taken part in only the Oct. 3 and Oct. 4 riots, those on the three succeeding nights being due to hooligans

New York Times Magazine, Oct. 27, 1957, "Poland's Youth Waits--and Searches," by Flora Lewis

Warsaw - Nowhere in Poland was the heat of enthusiasm more scorching during the feverish days of October, 1956, than in the great hall of Warsaw's Polytechnic. The youngsters crowded into it knew what they wanted. Their spirits were as near to bursting as the tiers of white arcades to which they clung screaming their approval for the intoxicating new Polish slogan "sovereignty and democratization." . . .

A year has gone by since the Polish revolt and it is October again. The adrenalin pumped into the nation's blood a year ago has thinned away. The October scenes at the Polytechnic and Zeran stand out as breaking points of a crisis leading to what all Poland now sees must be a long convalescence, never free from the danger of relapse. To the hasty eye, it may have looked early this month as though the Polytechnic were about to stage a repeat performance. The hall was crammed again with rapt youngsters. Wisps of defiance steamed the air. . . .

This year's troubles at the Polytechnic stemmed from the students' protest against an order by the Communist party's high command closing down the weekly newspaper Po Prostu. When militiamen used truncheons and tear gas to break up attempted demonstrations, the sparks of friction flared into riots that lasted five consecutive nights. There were many arrests. Then, damped by a nation's desire for tranquillity, the sparks fizzled.

A few days ago a dozen Polytechnic students, chosen representatives of four thousand who live in Warsaw's largest student hostel set about discussing the difference between the two ^{Octobers}.

"The first problem," said an intense, dark-haired boy, "is to get arrested students out of jail. We still think Po Prostu should be published; it was the only honest paper. But this is not a time to try everything at once." . . .

I asked if any of them planned to join the Communist party. The small, bare-walled room rang with acid laughter. "What for?" said a handsome round-faced boy. . . .

"How can anyone tell if communism's any good?" said another. And there was a sudden chatter as they all burst out with the same thought. "Nobody's ever seen it. There is no Communist country in the world and there has never been one. Maybe there never will be. We know. We've had to study all the theories for years. They don't sound like bad theories, but they have nothing to do with the facts. We can see the facts. That's what matters." . . .

"The party. . ." one snorted. "What good is the party?" Did you hear this joke about a party meeting? They were talking about the price of potatoes or something and suddenly one man jumps up and shouts 'Long live Khrushchev!' 'Be quiet,' his neighbor says. 'We know you; you're the one who was always shouting "Long live Stalin."' 'So,' says the shouter, 'so why do you complain? Is he living?'. . .

This talk is the talk of the young who helped make last October. Some of their elders, Communists, do not approve and do not trust them. When new answers to the problems of authority cannot be easily, safely found, the elders find solace in turning back to some of the old answers, and even reason for it. But the youngsters with the energy and audacity of their years, have chosen to wait and to keep on searching.

New York Times, Nov. 11, 1957, "Poland's Youth Starting a Purge," by Sydney Gruson

Warsaw, Nov. 10 - Following the lead of the Polish Communist party, Poland's youth organization has begun a purge.

The Communist-sponsored youth group has ordered all its members to exchange their membership cards and in the process undesirables and waverers are to be weeded out.

This culling makes a brave show of responsiveness to party demands that the youth display more Communist enthusiasm. But it can be no more than a show because the Z.M.S., officially the Socialist Youth Association, has so few members that a really energetic purge would almost liquidate it.

New York Times, Dec. 1, 1957, "Polish Students Disturb Regime," by Sydney

Gruson

Warsaw, Nov. 30 - Polish authorities have decided that something must be done about the collapse of Communist influence in the country's colleges and universities. They have opened a campaign to make the higher schools "entirely Socialistic institutions."

From the Communist point of view, the situation that has developed since the colleges were given more autonomy at the height of the political reformation a year ago is grave.

At a recent conference of party activists from the colleges and members of the Communist Central Committee, a statement prepared as a basis for discussion warned that liberalism in education might be defeating the Communists instead of winning them converts.

London Times, Dec. 3, 1957, "Warsaw Students Sentenced"

Warsaw, Dec. 2 (Reuter) - The Warsaw regional court to-day sentenced to prison terms ranging from 18 months to three years four students who took part in a demonstration which started five nights of disorders here in October.

Two other persons arrested at the same time received 18 months each, and a third was given a 12-month sentence.

All seven had pleaded Not Guilty to charges of rioting, insulting the police and the workers' militia, and all will appeal against the sentences. The court rejected pleas that they should be released on bail pending the hearing of the appeals.

The demonstration had been called by students of the Warsaw Polytechnic to protest against the closing of the student newspaper Po Prostu. During the trial, there was criticism by the accused and by the defence counsel of the methods used by the police, and it was alleged that some students were beaten by police after their arrest.

ROMANIA

ROMANIA

To the naked eye, Romania seems to be under Communist control, but its rulers -- who should know best--are frightened of something.

To keep 17,000,000 people in check, the Communists have an Army estimated at 300,000 to 400,000, a large police force and at least three divisions of Soviet troops. Uniformed men with tommyguns patrol key points in the cities.

. . . amnesty may actually have been planned in the summer of 1956, but if it was, the Hungarian revolt made it impossible. Hundreds of students, especially medical students, are said to have been jailed in Romania at that time for rather mild protests against compulsory courses in Marxism-Leninism.

There has been no sign of slackening since. . .

For example, instead of three years in prison for advocating a non-Communist government, Romanians can now get up to ten years for "propaganda agitation or any activity with a view of changing the social order." It used to be two years in jail for failing to denounce such offenses. Now it can be seven. A new paragraph in the law specifically protects informers.

The new decree appeared in the official bulletin but was not publicized. Questions to Romanian officials on why it was necessary brought no answer.

Penalties have also increased against "Hooliganism" This now seems to refer to the Romanian equivalent of juvenile delinquents. They affect long haircuts, tight trousers and an expert knowledge of rock 'n' roll.

Some "Hooligans" who have been arrested lately are said to have been sent to work on the government's latest pet project: cutting reeds in the great swamps of the Danube River delta to supply a new cellulose factory. . . (New York Herald Tribune, March 18, 1958, "Reds Hold Tight Rein on Romania").

Background Material:

New York Times, Oct. 29, 1956, "Rumania Appeals to Her Minorities," by Welles Hangen

Bucharest, Oct. 28 -- The Government appealed to Rumania's ethnic minorities today to support it in maintaining "revolutionary vigilance" against rebellion. . .

Minor outbreaks among university students are reported here and in Cluj.

The Bucharest students were said to have met in recent days to criticize the regime and tear up their Communist membership cards. The Cluj youth were reported to have walked out of classes on Marxism-Leninism. . . .

Hongkong Standard, Nov. 4, 1956, "Unrest Reported Among Rumania Factory Workers"

Vienna, Nov. 3 (Reuter) -- An unidentified short wave radio station broadcasting in Rumanian claimed tonight that . . . at the University of Cluj, Transylvania, several of the faculties had to close down owing to trouble with the students.

The radio claimed that Bucharest students had boycotted lectures in Marxism and in the Russian language.

Hongkong Standard, Nov. 15, 1956, "Anti-Soviet Rallies Staged in Rumania"

Vienna, Nov. 14 (Reuter) -- Riots, arrests and anti-Soviet demonstrations have been taking place in Transylvania, a predominantly Hungarian populated region of Rumania, usually reliable sources said here today.

As a result of this unrest not mentioned by the official Rumanian press and radio, the Rumanian government and Communist Party had taken steps to forestall a largescale revolution like the one in Hungary, these sources said.

Students at the universities of Cluj and Timisoara on Oct. 30 staged anti-Soviet demonstrations. They also held a two minutes silence to express their solidarity with the Hungarian freedom fighters, the sources said.

Several hundred students were arrested. The arrests were followed by "small-scale" riots in which several people were injured and one was believed killed.

The Rumanian government then sent in top-level Communist party officials to the principal trouble spots, to "explain" events in Hungary.

Hongkong Standard, Nov. 27, 1956, "Rumanian Education Minister Fired"

Vienna, Nov. 26 (UP) -- The Romanian Minister of Education has been dismissed because he failed to cope with recent Hungarian-type student demonstrations in the Russian satellite, it was reported today.

. . . The ousting was ordered after failure to cope with recent student demonstrations in several Romanian university towns.

Reliable sources had reported that at least one person was killed and an unknown number of students and police injured.

RUSSIA

RUSSIA

Moscow's zeal in preaching orthodoxy to the Communist parties of Eastern Europe--which led it last month into the renewed clash with Marshal Tito--is not inspired only by fear of the disruptive effects of "revisionism" on the Soviet bloc. The Kremlin is aware that its own citizens, and the young ones in particular, are not heresy-proof. The impression of a state of ferment among the young has been strengthened by the recent congress of the Union of Communist Youth--the Komsomol, as it is called. In the early nineteen-fifties this giant organisation used to absorb more than a million new members every year. It reached a total of 18.5 million in 1956. But the membership in 1958 is exactly the same. This surprising stagnation is the combined result of expulsion, and stricter sifting of newcomers. The reason for such caution can be gathered from official pronouncements. It is admitted that unrest had made its appearance concurrently with the campaign against the cult of personality: "Some young people, mostly students, indulged in nihilistic attacks, playing down the achievements of the Soviet people and distorting our Soviet Reality."

The restlessness of the young Russians has been aggravated by the fact that large numbers with matriculation cannot find university places. . . . At one stage, Mr. Khrushchev tried to use the scarcity of vacancies in institutions of higher learning as a threat to curb the unruly, but apparently intimidation did not prove enough. . . .

. . . Mr. Khrushchev, too, has tried to divert young energies into pioneering activity, but the problem of restless youth remains unsolved. It will not be solved, either, by cutting off contact with contaminated countries; the roots of Soviet "revisionism" are at home. (The Economist, May 10, 1958, "Russia's Problem Children").

. . . A final note should be added with reference to other ramifications of the youth problem--in particular, to the recent astonishing reports of unrest among university students. Do they mean that some of the underlying tensions . . . are being transformed into nonconformity of a specifically political nature? If so, then the problems . . . could be only the first signs of a domestic threat as potentially grave as any the Soviet system has faced.

So far, the only significant response which the regime has found for these problems, actual and potential, has been a reassertion of its control from above; it dares not assume that young citizens will choose the "Soviet" path from a sense of inner conviction. Perhaps this is a final measure of the faith of the present Soviet rulers in their own system. (Far Eastern Economic Review, Jan. 2, 1958, "The Young Generation and the Communists," by Allen Kassof).

Background Material:

Hongkong Standard, Dec. 14, 1956, "USSR Students in Leningrad Hit by Pravada"

Moscow, Dec. 16 (UP) -- Pravada, the Red Party organ, today reported serious shortcomings in the ideological climate among students in Leningrad, resulting in "an unhealthy state of mind." . . .

It reported that art students are acquiring "incorrect views on art and the artists vocation."

While the article did not specify exactly what was meant by an "unhealthy" state of mind, earlier reports from Leningrad published in the Soviet press indicated that students' criticism in Soviet institutions is exceeding the limits approved by the party and Komsomol.

To correct the admitted shortcomings, the city committee recommended raising the level of ideological-educational work by the Communist Party and Komsomol among students, closer supervision of student activity, and changed admission requirements for entrance to schools to insure that a higher proportion of students came directly from factories. It also recommended stronger Marxist-Leninist indoctrination by teachers.

Washington Post and Times Herald, Dec. 9, 1956, "Student Unrest Grows in Russia," by Eddy Gilmore

Mounting reports from Russia suggested tonight there is growing demand among Soviet University students for more political freedom.

"Their basic demand is for a liberalization of the political system," said a Western diplomat who has been receiving uncensored accounts from the Soviet capital. "And it's clearly worrying the Kremlin."

The informant said Soviet secret police had arrested a number of Moscow University students for forming what the police called "an underground political organization."

As far as Western embassies can tell, the students set up informal literary discussion groups which turned into forums for strong criticism of the Soviet Army's destruction of the Hungarian rebellion.

Distrusted by the student unrest, Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, was reported recently to have threatened to expel members of Moscow University's student body who didn't toe the party line. . . .

One report reaching London said Khrushchev told a group of Russian students how Communist Party leaders handled unruly Romanian students. It quoted him as saying:

"They told them that if they didn't like their institutions they could go and work--and others would take their places."

"Did these comrades (the Romanian Party leaders) act correctly? In my view they did." . . .

A Hungarian student who recently returned to Budapest from Moscow said the Russians were having serious trouble with students making anti-Government declarations.

South China Morning Post, Dec. 16, 1956, "100 Moscow Rebel Students Expelled"

Moscow, Dec. 15 --- More than 100 students at Moscow University have been expelled during the past two months for criticising and taking part in demonstrations against the Communist regime.

Many -- including women -- protested that textbooks were used for propaganda.

Others were expelled because they helped produce a "wall newspaper" which reprinted B.B.C. and other foreign news bulletins. . . .

An Associated Press cable said newspapers received in Moscow to-day reported student unrest in Leningrad and the Baltic States.

An editorial in the Leningrad Pravda said students disrupted classes at Leningrad University by demanding "re-evaluation of values".

A separate article in the same paper charged students in other Leningrad institutes have been insisting on "discussing problems that are not to be discussed".

Soviet Lithuania, an organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party, quoted a top Communist as saying student unrest in that Baltic State reached proportions "bordering on hooliganism."

Similar reports of student unrest have been received from the Soviet Baltic Republics of Latvia and Estonia.

New York Times, Dec. 24, 1956, "Students' Dissent is Scored in Russia"

Restive Soviet students have been warned that the Communist party will not tolerate expressions of political discontent.

The warning was in the form of a front-page editorial in Komsomolskaya Pravda, organ of the Young Communist League.

"Our party will never stand for phrasemongers, chatterboxes and demagogues who think they understand everything and can judge everything," the editorial said. "There are such people among students. Their voices are being heard now and then at meetings and conferences."

Student "demagogues" the paper continued, "are trying to sow distrust toward everything that exists, to hinder every constructive initiative."

As examples of what the young "demagogues" are doing Komsomolskaya Pravda cited efforts to organize boycotts of student dining rooms, to organize debates on key problems and to attack the way in which classroom subjects were taught. . . .

Hongkong Standard, Dec. 24, 1956, "Urals Students Made Demagogic Speeches: Paper"

Moscow, Dec. 22 (AP) -- The newspaper Soviet Russia reported Saturday students in the city of Sverdlovsk in the Urals delivered "demagogic speeches" contrary to Communist doctrine at recent meetings of Communist youth organizations. . . .

The paper said the Sverdlovsk educators failed to correct students deviating from the party line-- and when they attempted to do so it was "with the same abstract phraseology they habitually use in their lectures."

Washington Post and Times Herald, Dec. 30, 1956, "New Student Unrest in Russia Reported; Tanks Seen in Kiev"

Vienna, Dec. 29 (Reuters) -- Travelers arriving here from Budapest today substantiated reports of unrest in Kiev, in the Soviet Ukraine.

One said a student who returned to Budapest yesterday from Moscow reported that the train was stopped on the outskirts of Kiev. The station there could not be used because of active fighting between students and the Red army, he was told. . . .

Official Soviet sources. . . . have acknowledged widespread student unrest throughout Russia.

A recent official Soviet press survey, region by region, underlines the extent of the problem now facing the Communist Party: It reported:

Moscow: Some students are totally uninterested politically, and formalism and dogmatism are widespread.

Kharkov: Poor political activity among the students.

Sverdlovsk: Although 90 per cent of the students are young Communist League members, many are guilty of "demagogic" statements. Their political teaching is totally unrelated to everyday events.

Leningrad: The Young Communist League's meetings are lifeless and monotonous. Students attacked "socialist realism" in a hand printed broadsheet. Many students like bad foreign motion pictures and are chatterboxes who produce unhealthy and harmful statements.

Baku: Widespread foreign fashions, trashy songs and music, with many symptoms of snobbishness.

Armenia: Students do not pay attention to political education.

Estonia: Political meetings are so dull that hardly anyone in the university attends.

(Moscow's Navy newspaper, Soviet Fleet, assailed Communist Party agitators yesterday for permitting harmful ideas to penetrate the ranks of naval students, the Associated Press reported. It appealed to the agitators to direct their propaganda work toward reviving a 'fighting spirit.'

(This apparently is the first time such criticism involved a military service institution.

"(In Berlin, International News Service quoted a well-informed source as saying that a number of cadets at naval air training centers in Leningrad and Moscow were suspended last week for 'anti-state activities.' These cadets, the source said, had demanded higher pay and 'more personal freedom.')

New York Herald Tribune, Dec. 26, 1956, "Students in 6-Hr. Rally at Moscow," by Don Whitehead

Washington, Dec. 20 -- A wave of resistance is sweeping over not only the satellite states but also the heart of the Soviet Union, posing the greatest

challenge yet faced by the leaders of the Communist party since the revolution which swept it into power in 1917. . . .

The West Berlin newspaper, Der Tag, reported today that more than 1,000 Moscow University students held a six-hour meeting to speak out boldly against policies of their own government--and as a result were expelled.

Reports received here also tell of similar student unrest in Leningrad. And it is suspected that this unrest, running across the board from the intellectuals to the workers, is taking place also in other parts of Russia.

"The rebellion by the youths and the intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain is a very real thing," one informed Administration source told the New York Herald Tribune. "We know beyond doubt that it is taking place in Moscow and Leningrad and believe it extends to other big centers of the Soviet Union. The Moscow government is worried." . . .

New York Times, Jan. 9, 1957, "Students' Unrest Is Scored in Soviet"

Moscow, Jan. 8 -- The trade union newspaper Trud issued today a bitter and outspoken attack against Soviet students for their lack of discipline and attraction to non-Communist literature, art, music and ideas.

The paper mentioned five institutions of higher education where it indicated student unrest had been most apparent. Emphasis in the article was on the necessity for more discipline for students. . . .

The newspaper said students at the Leningrad Institute of Precision Mechanics and Optics had made speeches in class charging that their "initiative" was being "suppressed." Moscow University students were said to have used their newspaper to print "rude and slanderous attacks against the Soviet press in words and phrases borrowed from the bourgeois press."

Hongkong Standard, Jan. 18, 1957, "Widespread Unrest Reported in Ukraine"

Berlin, Jan 17 (AP) -- The West Berlin newspaper Telegraf Thursday reported widespread student unrest in the Ukraine and said Russian tanks were called in to put down one demonstration in Kiev.

In a dispatch from Vienna, quoting Hungarian refugees, the newspaper said the Ukraine unrest was similar to what reportedly has erupted in Moscow, Leningrad and Riga. The dispatch also reported that 50 students and two professors have been arrested in Stalingrad.

New York Herald Tribune, Jan 22, 1957, "Young Reds Open Campaign to 'Unmask' Students," by B.J. Cutler

Moscow, Jan 21 -- The Young Communist League today called for an offensive to "unmask" students, including Y. C. L. members, who spread "lies" against the Soviet Union. This new attack on "Demagogic" students reflected continuing concern by the party over youths who are apparently not loyal enough to suit the Kremlin after a lifetime of Communist indoctrination.

Almost the entire issue of Young Communists, journal of the Y. C. L.'s Central Committee, was given over to the party's problems with students and exhortations that their education as Communists be improved.

"We still have young people," the magazine said, "members of the Y. C. L. among them, who give in to the demagogy of bourgeois propaganda."

It said these students believe in "tales about the freedom of individuals" in non-Communist countries and in "peoples capitalism" and carry "rumors, gossip and tales" to their fellow students. . . .

The committee decided that students have too much time to indulge in "unhealthy political thinking and demanded that during vacations and after school hours they be sent to work in factories, collecting scrap metal, and serving in the militia (police) assistance brigades. . . .

New York Times, Jan 30, 1957, "Pravda Demands Tight Discipline," by William J. Jorden

Moscow, Jan 29 -- Strident calls for tighter party discipline testify to the Kremlin's awareness of deep-seated dissatisfaction and even anti-Communist sentiments among some segments of the Soviet people.

Pravda, central organ of the Communist party, threw the full weight of its influence today into the struggle to bring waverers back into line. . . .

A tendency of young persons, especially those with advanced education, to drift from the party fold and to speak out against features they found inexcusable was cited by Pravda as a matter of unusual concern for all party members.

Pravda insisted that it was necessary to "increase iron discipline in our party to the utmost." . . .

Manchester Guardian, Jan 30, 1957, "Soviet Concern Over Student Unrest," by Victor Zorza

Anti-Communist feelings among people in the party itself, and particularly among youth, have caused yesterday's Pravda to publish a leading article calling for greater efforts to fight such tendencies. . . .

. . . it is known that recent literary and philosophical discussions have frequently given rise to heated political arguments. During a meeting held to discuss new trends in Soviet literature students seized the opportunity to protest against the "bureaucratic degeneration" of the Soviet system.

After taking over control of the meeting from the university staff, the students called their own representatives to the rostrum and roundly applauded their sallies against some aspects of the Government's policy. The students stressed the need for more effective public control over Government bodies and insisted that this control should develop from below; deplored the official excuses such as the "dangers of infection by bourgeois ideology" which were used to suppress criticism and withhold information; and called for greater efforts to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the country's political needs. . . .

. . . The Soviet authorities are trying to suppress the news of student unrest. But occasional references to it have to be made in newspaper articles which call for better ideological work among the students. Trud admitted that "crude and slanderous attacks on the Soviet press copied from bourgeois newspapers were published in Moscow University's wall newspaper." It is an uncharitable but safe assumption that if Trud admits as much as this there must, in fact have been much more to it. . . .

New York Times, Feb. 1, 1957, "Soviet Students Press for Replies," by Harrison E. Salisbury

Soviet students are bombarding their professors with sharp questions about the latest changes in the Communist party line.

Travelers just back from the Soviet Union report that there is substantial intellectual ferment among the young people there. . . .

The reports of persons who actually have talked with students in Leningrad, Moscow and some provincial centers indicated that for the first time in a generation Soviet official doctrine was being subjected to critical examination by young men and women.

It is the spread of this attitude of skepticism among Soviet youth that has given rise to increasing Government concern.

Only last Tuesday Pravda, the official Communist paper, called for tighter party discipline to end the spread of non-Communist ideas. Pravda said only those "poisoned by political carelessness" could ignore the danger these tendencies present to the Soviet system. . .

Awareness of these possibilities was believed to lie behind a series of recent steps designed to bring the situation under control.

One of the first moves related to Hungarian students studying at Moscow University and other leading Soviet educational centers. So many disturbing questions were originating in this group that they were sent back home, en masse, before the New Year's holidays.

There were estimated to be more than 200 Hungarian students at Moscow University. They are said not to be expected back in Moscow, at least not this year.

The removal of the Hungarian students was said to have been undertaken because of the disturbing effect they were having on Soviet students. The Russians, dissatisfied with official explanations of events in Eastern Europe, were turning more and more to their Hungarian classmates for a realistic account.

Students at Moscow University, it was said, continue to listen to short-wave news broadcasts, principally British Broadcasting Corporation programs in English. Many students are familiar with English from their studies. The broadcasts are not jammed by Soviet authorities.

University authorities have sought to discourage students from posting bulletins in classrooms, reporting a summary of B. B. C. news. The practice continues, however. Voice of America broadcasts in Russian, travelers reported, are too heavily jammed to be heard in big cities such as Moscow or Leningrad. . .

University students also circulate news and opinions in typewritten and mimeographed news letters. . .

Hongkong Standard, Feb. 11, 1957, "Youth in Revolt," by Edward Crankshaw

London (Standard-Observer Service) -- The rebellious mood of Soviet youth is far more serious and widespread than is generally imagined. It is also far more various in its manifestations. All in all, it has lately made itself felt as an important element in the political situation of the Soviet Union. . .

Mr. Khrushchev may exclaim that he is a Stalinist, and proud of it, he may threaten to expel rebellious students and put them to work in factories; but in fact the Stalin touch is entirely lacking. The revolt continues, always simmering, sometimes boiling up, and all the Soviet government is doing for the time being is to try to keep it within bounds. . . .

In the past, the disorientation of Soviet youth (which existed also under Stalin) expressed itself among the majority in apathy, among a minority in extravagant gestures, in heavy drinking, in a series of crazes--for flamboyant clothes. . . .

There were always small groups of students who entertained ideas of their own and formed the cells of a potential opposition. But they were isolated and until lately they dared not speak. . . .

What changed this was the de-Stalinization of a year ago. Then Khrushchev, by shattering the Stalin legend, not only gave the green light to those who had already been thinking dangerous thoughts in secret, but also woke up countless thousands of Soviet young to a sudden realization that the real blame for the most hated features of Soviet life lay with the system itself, not with the actions of individual bureaucrats and bosses.

They were told by Khrushchev, that the infallible teacher, whose word was never to be doubted, who pointed the only way to the light, was not only fallible but also a brute. This was an invitation to the most intensive questioning--and self-questioning. And the invitation was seized. So that among the very young of today the apathy and cynicism bred by the acceptance of a lie which was generally known to be a lie, has given way to a mood of constructive skepticism. If Stalin can be debunked anything can happen. Nothing is taken for granted by these youngsters. Everything is being questioned. And every action of the present leadership is being examined in the light of Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin.

It is impossible to see where it will end. But it is already clear that it cannot be stopped. It may be stifled; but it cannot be killed. . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 25, 1957, "Moscow Reports Say 100 Students Expelled"

Paris (AP) -- Diplomatic reports reaching Paris say 100 Moscow University students were expelled recently for what Soviet authorities considered anti-Communist political activity.

The same reports said an undisclosed number of students at the Lenin Pedagogical Institute (teachers' college) in Moscow had been arrested and accused of forming an underground political organization.

They added that a students' meeting at Leningrad University, called to discuss scholarships, turned into a demonstration during which the students paraded an effigy of Poland's nationalist Communist leader Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Students of Communist affairs here said these reports showed a wave of Soviet student discontent--widely publicized at the time of the Hungarian Revolution last fall--was still on the rise.

"Years of propaganda and Communist education have produced, in fact, young men and women more skeptical of established dogmas and more daring in their criticism than any generation since the Bolshevik Revolution," one observer declared.

The reports said the 100 students expelled at Moscow University got into trouble for going too far in questioning the established order. They were sent to work in factories. . .

At one recent Moscow University meeting, the reports continued, participants attached a "manifesto" to the university bulletin board. It condemned the Soviet one-party system and demanding the replacement of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) by a democratic organization based solely on free, secret elections.

Manchester Guardian, March 7, 1957, "Disaffection Among Soviet Students," by Victor Zorza

Mr. Voroshilov's implied admission in a speech on Friday that the young Russians who have been clamouring for freedom and real democracy are not hooligans and demagogues, but idealistic dreamers, has been cut from what purports to be a full account of his speech in the Soviet press.

His, perhaps, involuntary, admission that these young dreamers were "brothers" rather than "hostile elements," was followed by the stern Bolshevik warning that they would be nevertheless squashed like beetles and bugs. . .

Indeed, first-hand accounts of what goes on at Soviet universities suggest that these youngsters are full of fight. It is now known, for instance, that the official condemnation of new literary trends represented by such novels as Dudintsev's Not by Bread Alone has so angered the students that they attempted to stage a formal demonstration of protest in one major Russian city.

Their plans, however, had become known to the authorities, and when the students began to assemble in front of the museum, where the demonstration was to be held, some were detained by the police and the Rest dispersed.

In many Soviet universities there are large contingents of students from the People's Democracies, and their behaviour recently has had a rather unsettling effect on the Russian students. During a seminar on current events at one of the universities a young Pole got up and flatly condemned the Soviet intervention in Hungary.

The Soviet press continues to report instances of disaffection among students and it is now clear that this ferment is not confined to the universities of Moscow and Leningrad which have the closest contact with foreign students and with foreign thought generally, but is applicable to Soviet students everywhere. . . .

New York Times, March 20, 1957, "Soviet Colleges To Favor Worker," by William J. Jorden

Moscow, March 19 -- The Soviet Union has adopted new rules that will give priority in gaining admission to universities and higher schools to those who have had work experience on farms and in factories.

The Ministry of Higher Education has approved a regulation that up to 60 per cent of those who pass entrance examinations for higher schools will be admitted without further competition if they have had at least two years' work experience.

In addition the entrance examinations themselves will be simplified for those who had been working while they studied. In some cases they will have to pass only one examination rather than the numerous tests given regular school graduates who seek admission to college. . . .

The Soviet leaders have shown their irritation with signs that many of those now in Soviet higher schools are inclined to be argumentative and extravagant in their criticisms. . . .

New York Herald Tribune, May 16, 1957, "Red Youths Want More Fun in Life"

Moscow (AP) -- Komsomol Pravda suggests that Communists live it up a little.

The newspaper of the Young Communist League has condemned prigs and killjoys and taken a swipe at graybeards who complain that the younger generation is too frivolous. . . .

The paper says an economist wrote its editors complaining against advertisements for the Viennese ice show now playing in Moscow. The economist considered the girl skaters' costumes too scanty.

It would be ridiculous, said the paper, to make the shapely young ladies of the troupe wear long underwear.

Declared Komsomol Pravda, a spearhead of orthodoxy in Communist dogma: "We know that dialectical materialism is the world outlook of our society"---but this doesn't mean there is no fun in life.

New York Times, May 20, 1957, "Soviet Ideology In Schools Scored," by William J. Jordan

Moscow, May 19 -- Many Soviet students are getting poor training in the fundamentals of communism.

Party officials have begun a campaign of criticism of teachers of the social sciences in universities and other schools for the poor quality of their instruction. Students are blamed for showing lack of interest in Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Communist party committees have been ordered to take a more active interest in the teaching of Communist doctrine in the schools and to exert increasing control over ideology in the social sciences. . . .

Soviet students apparently react in the manner of students all over the world when they find themselves in a classroom with a dull teacher. Some read newspapers and others do their homework, talk or nod. . . .

The Communist party journal said it was not an accident that less than half the students even bothered to attend some lectures. . . .

The survey group talked with students and found that many of them did not understand Communist theories, were not familiar with the latest party decision and did not understand well "the meaning of events in the country and the world. . . ."

New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 12, 1957, "Smuggled Record Calls for Russia's Liberation," by Gaston Coblentz

Bonn, Sept. 11 -- A Russian student at Moscow University has called for the liberation of the Soviet Union from communism in a secretly-recorded message brought out from Moscow by a Western visitor to the recent World Youth Festival.

His remarkable message, of which the New York Herald Tribune has obtained a complete text, was taken down clandestinely on a taperecorder in one of the dormitories that housed the Youth Festival delegates.

The student, whose identity must remain secret, predicted that "the present state of affairs in Soviet Russia cannot go on for much longer."

He voiced hope that "some day our people will begin not only to think and to talk in whispers at night, but will begin to act"--that is, to overthrow the Communist rulers in the Kremlin. . . .

Baltimore Sun, Oct, 4, 1957, "Soviet Youth to Get More Red Ideology"

Moscow, Oct. 3 -- Soviet students are to get heavier doses of Communist ideology. This is the decision reached by 3,000 social-science teachers and Communist party workers from all the big universities in European Russia who have just closed a conference here.

In true Soviet fashion, they blame themselves for the errors of the youth whose training is in their hands. . . .

But they note with concern that, "some individual students still have a light-minded attitude toward study, are disrespectful of labor and have certain 'unhealthy' feelings."

"Especially alarming," says the conference report, "is the fact that such feelings are not always properly rebuked or condemned." . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 7, 1957, "Soviets Heap Praise on Worker-Students"

Moscow (Reuters) -- Soviet universities this fall have been filling up with young men and women who look older than most freshmen and who know more about lathes, tractors, and train sheds than academic life.

These worker-students, part of a "new look" in Soviet education, started this year.

They have worked for two or three years in a factory or in agriculture. Now, they have been given priority admission to Soviet universities, colleges, and polytechnical institutes and the state is granting them a modest allowance for food, clothing, and board.

Some universities opened the new academic year with up to 50 per cent of first-year places filled by worker-students.

This is one of the more significant moves made by the Soviet Union to blow away the cobwebs of mere "bookish learning" and place higher education side by side with practical problems of industry and concrete political tasks in the "struggle to build communism." In other words, loyalty and "party mindedness" are as important, if not more so, than academic qualifications.

Baltimore Sun, Nov. 24, 1957, "Soviet Operation of Schools Likened to Military Training," by Weldon Wallace

Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 23 -- The Soviet Union runs its educational system as other countries operate a military training program in time of war, according to Alexander G. Korol, whose book Soviet Education for Science and Technology was published this week end.

The Soviet Government specifies the courses of training and limits the quotas of students in each category to suit the specific needs of promoting Communist power, Mr. Korol said today in discussing his findings.

The best Russian facilities and resources are mobilized to supply the most crucial needs of Communist dictatorship, he added. . . .

The Government predetermines the size of freshman classes for the country as a whole and for each school. The planned enrollment must be met in every institution. If there are too many applicants, students will be turned down after the quota is filled. If there are too few, additional applicants must be found to make up the deficiency.

Indirect evidence suggests that the student body of colleges and universities has become "progressively weighted in favor of the children of party officials, civil servants, military officers and other groups occupying an elite position in the Government."

Quotas of students are determined on one basis only--the needs of the State.

. . . .

Baltimore Sun, Dec. 27, 1957, "Students Hit by Red Party," by Howard Norton

Moscow, Dec. 26 -- The Moscow city organization of the Communist party is having troubles. . . .

The young people in Moscow's schools, it complains, are not taking life seriously enough--certainly not as seriously as good Communist young people should. . . . according to S. D. Orlov, secretary of the city party group, "some of them are neglecting their work."

"They are undisciplined and are getting very bad marks," he reported to the party meeting. . . .

Hongkong Standard, Dec. 28, 1957, "Georgia Reds Crack Down on Students"

Moscow, Dec. 26 (AP) -- The Communist Party in the republic of Georgia is cracking down on students dodging the Soviet labour draft laws.

High school graduates are required to serve two years at practical labour prior to acceptance by a university. University graduates are assigned to two or three years on projects before they are allowed to choose their own jobs. There have been frequent reports of Soviet youths avoiding these obligations, particularly in the Georgian republic. . . .